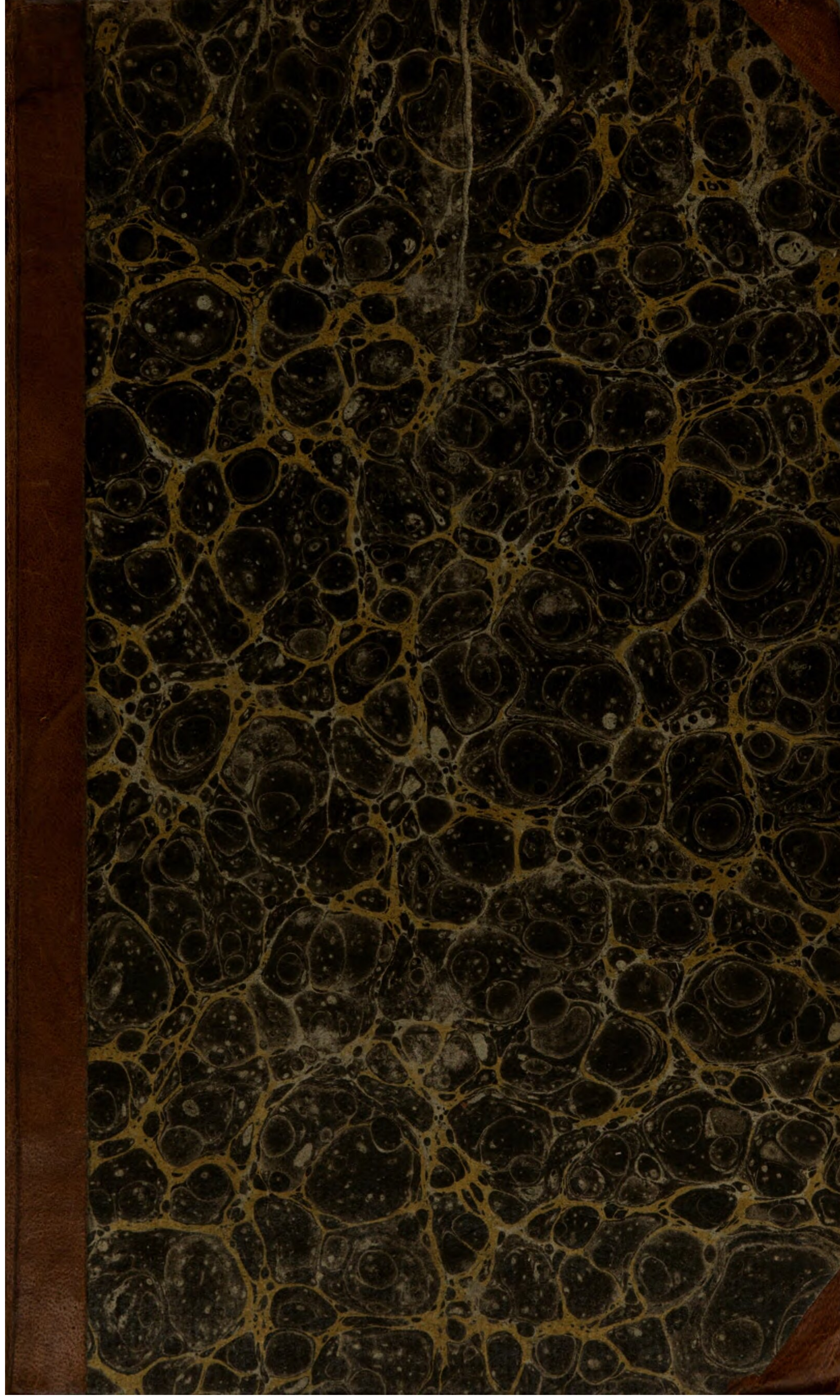




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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

By ADAM FERGUSON, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. VI.

BASIL:

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C O N T E N T S.

B O O K V I.

C H A P. I.

The Merit or Demerit of Parties in the later Period of the Roman Republic. — Return of Octavius to Rome. — His Triumphs and public Entertainments. — Reform of the Army. — Proposition to resign his Power. — Consultation of Agrippa and Mæcenæ. — Preludes to the Pretended Resignation of Octavius. — His Speech in the Senate. — His consent to retain a Part in the Government of the Empire. — Distribution of the Provinces. — Title of Augustus. — The Establishment of Augustus. Page 1.

C H A P. II.

State of the Emperor. — Condition of the Empire. — Amount of the revenue unknown. — Military Establishments, &c. 59.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. III.

The Family and Court of Augustus. — His pretended Resignation of the Empire renewed. — The exercise of his Power becomes less disguised. — Death of Agrippa. Page 77.

C H A P. IV.

Marriage of Julia with Tiberius. — Death of Drusus. — Death of Mæcnas. — Disgrace of Julia. — War in Pannonia. — Roman Legions cut off in Germany. — Tiberius associated in the Empire. — Death of Augustus. 133.

C H A P. V.

The Will of Augustus. — Review of his Reign — And of his Character. — Tiberius returns to Nola. — Issues without delay his Orders throughout the Empire. — In the Senate affects Reluctance to charge himself with the Government. — Mutiny in Pannonia. — On the Rhine. — Second Mutiny on the Arrival of Deputies from the Senate. — Imposture of Clemens. — Plot of Libo. — Description of Tiberius. — Death of Germanicus. — And Trial of Piso. 193.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. V I.

Review of the First Period in the Reign of Tiberius.
— *Applications of penal Law. — Disposition of Tiberius to a recluse Life. — Place and Character of Sejanus. — Death of Drusus, Son of the Emperor. — Retirement of Tiberius to the Island of Capræ. — Jealousy of the Emperor against Agrippina and her Children. — Death of Livia Augusta. — Design formed against Sejanus. — His Death. — Prosecution of his supposed Accomplices. — Artifices — old Age — and Death of Tiberius.* Page 242.

C H A P. V I I.

Succession of Caius to the Empire. — The first Appearances of his Reign. — Conclusion of the History. — Observations on the Sequel. — Accession of the Flavian Family. — Vicissitudes of Character in the Emperors. — Sources of Degradation in the Imperial Establishment. — Preservatives of the Empire. — Its real and continual, though almost insensible, Decline. 307.

THE

CONTENTS

CHAP. V.

History of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Application of the Holy Spirit — Disposition of the
— History of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas
— Disposition of the Holy Spirit in the Bible of Thomas

CHAP. VI.

Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit
— Succession of Christ to the Father — The Holy Spirit

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

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ALTHOUGH, in compiling this History, it has been intended to avoid expressions of mere praise and blame, other than are contained in
VOL. VI. B

CHAP.
I.

MINIUM

2 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK VI. the detail of facts and specification of characters; and to state, in every instance, the transaction itself, rather than the judgment of the writer; yet it is hoped that where questions of merit or demerit are in any considerable degree problematical, and where readers are likely to take opposite sides, he too may be indulged in some general discussion.

U. C. 620. We may suppose the Roman republic to have been hastening to its ruin from the sedition of **U. C. 723.** Tiberius Gracchus, to the times on which we are now entered. A great revolution has been so long in dependance, and more blood has been shed in an age of boasted learning and politeness, than perhaps has been known to flow in any equal period of the most barbarous times.

In judging of those who were concerned in this transaction, we may form our opinions now upon speculative considerations, as they themselves joined their party from motives of interest, ambition, or public virtue. Although it be allowed that, in point of justice, we must give a preference to those who endeavoured to preserve the constitution of their country, and who acted merely in defence of themselves and their fellow-citizens; yet in this instance it will be alledged, that the event has had the effect of an experiment, to show that what they strove to perform was impracticable, and that notwithstanding the justice of their cause, the circumstances of the times were such as to have rendered their success not only desperate, but in a great measure inexpedient. They were born to a republic, it is true; but the people who were destined to go-

vern in that republic could no longer be safely intrusted with government; and to contend for such a trust in behalf of men who were unworthy of it, was a dangerous error, for which the best intentions could not atone. Even the Roman Senate itself could not supply all the exigencies of government over a dominion of such extent, and containing so many sources of corruption. Its own members were degenerated, and fallen from the virtue of their ancestors. They were trained up in a luxury at home, which was to be supplied by the most cruel rapacity abroad in the provinces. Such an empire could be preserved only by the force and prompt executions of despotism. The change therefore from republic to monarchy, it may be alleged, was seasonable; and Cato, with Cicero, Brutus, and all the other partisans of the commonwealth, actuated by a mistaken, though commendable zeal for liberty, who would have supported their fellow-citizens in their pretensions to government, after they were unworthy of it; in this attempt fell a necessary sacrifice to their own error; and in their ruin made way for an establishment better fitted to the condition of the age, and to the character of the people, than that for which they contended and bled.

In this manner of stating the subject, we lay the task of vindicating their own conduct on those who endeavoured to preserve, not upon those who destroyed, the republic. But in judging of the merits of men in so distant a scene, we must not proceed on conceptions drawn from the experience of sub-

4 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

B O O K
VI.

sequent ages, on our own predilection for monarchy in general, or even on our judgment of its expedience in that particular case; we must suppose ourselves in the situation of those who acted, and who, in the result of this contest, from the condition of equals, were to become master and servant, or lord and vassal. One party strove that they should be masters, the other that they themselves should not be slaves. The latter contended for the rights, which, together with their fellow-citizens, they had inherited, as Romans; they endeavoured to preserve the manners, as well as the institutions, of their country, against the destroyers of both. The other party, at first, under pretence of zeal for higher measures of popular government than those they enjoyed, endeavoured to corrupt the people whom they meant to enslave; and having, upon plausible pretences, got possession of the sword, they turned it against the established government of their country. Neither of those parties, probably, stated the speculative question which we may now be inclined to discuss, whether republic or monarchy was best accommodated to the Roman State in the height of its dominion, and in the full tide of luxury?

The wise, the courageous, and the just alone are entitled to power; the innocent alone are entitled to freedom. But they who are not conscious of having forfeited their right to either, are undoubtedly justifiable in persisting to maintain it. The virtuous who resign their freedom, at the same time resign their virtue, or at least yield up that condition

which is required to preserve it. Citizens who were born to inherit this condition, and who had the courage to harbour and to cherish that elevation of mind which belongs to it, were entitled to maintain for themselves the post of honor to the last, and must for ever receive from those who respect integrity and magnanimity the tribute of esteem, even of tenderness, which is due to their memory.

C H A P.
I.

If ever there was a body of men fit to govern the world, it was the Roman Senate, composed of citizens who had passed through the higher offices of State, who had studied the affairs of their country in the execution of its councils, and in the command of its armies; and it will for ever be remembered, in behalf of those who wished to preserve its authority, that if the removal from the scene on which they acted was expedient or seasonable, it was so because that scene was become unworthy of their presence.

Some of the characters, indeed, that appeared in this cause, may require a separate treatment. In that of Cato, virtue was the result of a decisive and comprehensive reflection. To him rectitude of conduct was in itself, without regard to consequences, the supreme object of desire and pursuit. His penetration, as well as courage, in the early endeavours he made, and in the manly steadiness with which he persisted to oppose the designs of Cæsar and Pompey, while others wavered, and either did not perceive their intention, or tamely submitted to them, gave him a striking superiority

6 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK over his contemporaries¹. He is represented by
VI. Cicero, in some instances, as retaining his inflexibility, when some degree of compliance was more likely to preserve the republic. The same censure has been repeated by others; but Cato was present to the scene, had no by-views to mislead him, and there is not any reason to prefer the judgment of those who censure him to his own. Cicero temporized, made the experiment of what compliance on some occasions could effect, and even flattered himself that he had gained the affections of Cæsar and Pompey to the republic, by giving way to the arts which they employed to destroy it.

The fellow-sufferers of Cato, in the same cause of the republic, were persons of a different character from himself. To him virtue was the end, to them it was the means which they employed for the attainment of their end, and they measured advantages by the success of their pursuits. Cato pos-

¹ The impression of Cato's character remained so deep with posterity, as well as with the immediate witnesses of his conduct, that no authority on the part of those who wished to traduce him had any effect. It is remarkable, that even the authority of the Cæsars did not silence those who in other instances submitted to flatter them, nor prevent their joining in the praises of Cato. Virgil and Horace, though courtiers, could not be restrained on this subject. Vid. *Eneid.* lib. viii. ver. 670. *Hor.* lib. i. od. 12. He was revered, it has been said, rather as a good than as a great man; but mankind do not revere without an opinion of great ability, as well as benevolent intention. Vid. Lord Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*.

OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

7

nessed independence in the courage and resolution of his own mind; they sought for it in the institutions of their country; they wished to preserve their own rights, and would yield them to no individual or set of men whatever. This character is indeed in a high degree meritorious; no more is required to form an excellent citizen, and no more was required but the prevalence or frequency of such a character at Rome to have preserved, and even to have reformed, that sickly and perishing constitution of government.

CHAP.

I.

The natural antidote of vice is restraint and correction; but in great disorders, and where the system itself is corrupted, what is applied for a remedy is sometimes an evil, as well as the disease. They who peruse the history of Rome, under the continued effects of a revolution, which is now accomplished or fast approaching, will find no cause to congratulate the world, on its having escaped from the factions of Clodius and Milo, to incur the evils that arose under Caius and Nero.

The impossibility of preserving the republic, or its unsuitness to remain at the head of so great an empire, is no doubt the most plausible excuse which is made for its subversion; but this apology neither Cæsar nor Pompey was entitled to make for himself. Cæsar affected a zeal for popular government, and Pompey strove to inflame all its evils, in order to render himself necessary to the aristocracy. Cæsar fomented political troubles, in order to weaken the hands of the Senate, or in order to find a pretence to make war upon them; and at last, under the show

8 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK VI. of releasing the People from the tyranny of that body, drew that sword with which he accomplished the ruin of both.

The Senate indeed had many difficulties to encounter; that of protecting the provinces from oppression, in which many of their own members were concerned; that of restraining the tumults and disorders of a licentious people, led by different factions, desirous of change, or impatient of government; and that of conducting a pretended popular assembly, in whom the legislation and sovereignty of the empire was nominally vested. It is, however, difficult to judge how far so able a council, while they themselves remained in any degree uncorrupted, might not have found antidotes, or at least temporary expedients, to resist every other evil, if they had not been so ably attacked as they were by the first Cæsar and Pompey, who joined interests together, to break down the defences of a fortress, which they afterwards severally intended to occupy.

The ordinary train of affairs at Rome, the substitution of tumults for regular assemblies of the People; the practice of committing the provinces, with so many resources, and the command of such armies, with so little control, to the discretion of ambitious citizens; the dangerous power which accompanied the higher offices of State, without any check upon those who were inclined to abuse those powers, the easy recourse which persons of dangerous pretensions, when rejected by the Senate, had to popular riots, under the denomination of Comitia,

or Assemblies of the People, made the destruction of the commonwealth in some measure necessary.

C H A P.

I

With such citizens as the Gracchi, as Apuleius, as Marius and Cinna, Clodius and Milo, it was difficult to preserve a republic; but with such citizens as Cæsar and Pompey, it was altogether impossible; or rather the republic may be considered as at an end from the time it was in their power to dispose of it.

The first class of these adventurers were misled by their possessions, or fell into the vices of their situation. They endeavoured to rule by popular tumults or military force, and when they could not pervert the ordinary forms of the State to their purpose, employed violence to set them aside; but even in this, by their mutual opposition, they preserved a kind of balance, in which the freedom of the commonwealth seemed to remain.

Pompey and Cæsar promoted systematically all the evils to which their country was exposed. They had recourse to the populace for grants which the Senate refused; they prolonged the term of provincial appointments, which were sufficiently dangerous, however short; they united together powers that were sufficiently dangerous when separate; united the command of armies in the provinces with the authority of office at Rome; and, instead of suspending the fate of the commonwealth by their mutual obstructions to each other, hastened its ruin by concerting together their measures against it; leaving the decision of their respective

10 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK claims, till after they had rendered the republic a
VI. necessary prey to one or the other.

Pompey for some time thought himself in actual possession of the monarchy; Cæsar, in the mean time, provided the most effectual means to ravish it from him. To state the difficulty of preserving the republic in such hands, as an excuse for their having destroyed it, were to offer the character of criminals as an excuse for their crimes. When the highwaymen are abroad, the traveller must be robbed; but this is not an excuse for the crime. Cæsar and Pompey are blamed, not because the republic had an end, but because they themselves were the evils by which it perished.

The necessity of submitting, at least for a time, to the government of single men, had been repeatedly experienced by the Romans, and was so in the highest degree at the times to which these observations refer; but this will not justify the pretensions of every profligate person who may affect to place himself in the station of sovereign. If upon this ground Cato and Brutus were to be blamed for resisting the power of Cæsar; the last, in his turn, must be blamed for resisting the power of Pompey and other citizens, in their respective ages, for rejecting the advances which were made by Marius, Cinna, Cataline, and other profligate adventurers, who attempted to place themselves at the head of the empire.

Of the two Cæsars, the first possessed the talent of influencing, of gaining, and employing men to his purpose, beyond any other person that is

known in the history of the world ; but it is surely not for the good of mankind that he should be admired in other respects. To admire even his clemency, is to mistake policy and cunning for humanity. The second Cæsar, in the part which he acted against the republic, is in many respects more excusable than the first. He entered the scene when the piece was much farther advanced, when his countrymen had submitted to monarchy, under the title of a perpetual Dictatorship, and when he himself was considered as the heir of a person who had possessed this pre-eminence. He was therefore at least nearer to the condition of a hereditary prince, who may be allowed to consider sovereignty as his birth-right, and who, however he may be disposed to promote the good of mankind, has a right to maintain his own station, and may be supposed to acquit himself sufficiently of his duty, by making a proper use of his power, without being under any obligation to resign it, or to admit of improper encroachments upon the estate to which he is born.

CHAP
I.

The first Cæsar strove against those who endeavoured to preserve their own rights and those of their country ; the second, although he succeeded to the same quarrel, and actually paid no respect to the republic, more than was necessary to cover his design against it, yet appears, more than the first, in the light of a person who strove only with the rivals of his own ambition ; and with his competitors for the succession of his uncle and adoptive father, who, having declared him the heir of his fortune, gave

12 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK VI. him a pretence to support the pre-eminence he himself had gained.

This apology, nevertheless, though more powerful in its application to the case of the second Cæsar than to that of the first, is very imperfect in its application to either. If Octavius had been educated under any impressions of hereditary right to the sovereignty of the Roman republic, the fate of the person from whom he derived his supposed right, and the subsequent, though temporary, re-establishment of the commonwealth, which he witnessed, and which he pretended to approve, were sufficient to have undeceived him, and to have taught him the part which he had to act as a Roman citizen, and the modesty with which he ought to have waited for the legal age and the constitutional election, in order to obtain those offices of State to which, in common with the other citizens of Rome, his condition no doubt highly entitled him.

Octavius, however, is not perhaps to be tried so much in the capacity of a Roman citizen born to the republic, as in that of leader of a party, born at a time when the competition for superiority was general, and when sovereignty or death were the alternatives to be chosen by persons of such rank and pretensions as his own. In this capacity he effected what his grand uncle and adoptive father had taught him to aim at; the suppression of civil government, and the removal of all his own competitors for power.

As Pompey, with Cato and the principal supporters of the Senate, had sunk under the first Cæsar;

so Brutus, Cassius, and the other restorers of the commonwealth, with the last of the family of Pompey, sunk under Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and the two last, in their turn, having sunk under Octavius, this successful adventurer now remains sole commander of all the armies of the republic, and sole master of all its provinces, from the banks of the Euphrates to the sea of Britain. And the contest for this mighty sovereignty being now at last decided, it remains that we observe what new form the world is to receive under the dominion of its master, or what mighty harvest is to be reaped by him who is in possession of the field, and who is now enabled to gather what so many heroes had sown or planted, and what so many pretenders to the same object would have ravished or torn from each other.

This able adventurer having, in other situations, conducted his affairs with so much discretion, as well as enterprize, continued in his present elevation to exercise the same profitable virtues. In the severities which he had formerly practised against those who opposed him, there was sufficient evidence of a cruel and sanguinary nature², and it were monstrous to suppose that the murders which were perpetrated by his order, or with his consent, could be justified by the necessity of affairs in which his engaging at all was criminal. But as the horror of

² See the history of the Proscription, and his attendance at the sacrifices or executions done at Perusia. Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.

BOOK VI. Sylla's cruelties, still remaining in the minds of the people, was a great bar to the success of any similar usurpation, and suggested to Julius Cæsar, in the beginning of his career, an opposite course of clemency and mercy; so the fate of this last adventurer, who, after having shown mercy to many of his opponents, fell at last by the hands of those he had spared, probably suggested to the Triumvirate the necessity of securing themselves before they affected the reputation of mercy, and, as we shall see, suggested to this heir of Cæsar the caution not to affront, so directly as the other had done, that republican spirit, whose effects he had occasion to dread.

Octavius, though inferior to his uncle in the capacity of a soldier, being equally master of every necessary artifice, had recourse to the use of clemency when it suited the state of his affairs. His steps became gradually less bloody, from the first fatal proscription to the last victory which he obtained over Antony; and in this he reversed the order that was observed by the first Cæsar, beginning to affect moderation in a period of the war, corresponding to that in which the military executions of the other were observed to have become more decisive and bloody.

In the whole management of the contest with Antony, Octavius had conducted himself with a singular address. Stating himself as a Roman Consul merely, he discontinued the power of Triumvir in his own person, in order to strip his antagonist likewise of that character. To avoid appearances

which might divide any part of the Roman People against him, he overlooked Antony entirely in the pretended quarrel with the Queen of Egypt, or he affected to consider him as a person under some fatal delusion, and in hazard of becoming a traitor to his own country, from his attachment to a stranger and an artful woman. The war was declared against the Queen of Egypt alone, and, like any other foreign war, was undertaken by Octavius in the capacity of Roman Consul, and with an observance of all the usual forms of the commonwealth.

Octavius was remarkable for employing disguises, which, though too this to conceal the truth, furnished his own party, at least, with a pretence for supporting him, and considerably helped him forwards in the execution of all his designs. Affecting to be no more than Consul, or ordinary magistrate, he exercised the power of a master, or military usurper, in the western provinces; and hastened, by the reduction of Egypt, and the suppression of his rival who had taken refuge in that kingdom, to make himself equally sovereign in the East. In the absence of this Consul the affairs of State in the capital were not permitted, as usual, to devolve on his nominal colleague, nor, in the absence of both Consuls, to devolve on the officer that was next in rank, but were in the hands of Mæcenas, a person known for the minister or confident of Octavius, without any other rank or title of office in the commonwealth. These circumstances were sufficient to discredit the professions which he conti-

C H A P.

I.

16 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

B O O K VI. nued to make of his zeal for the constitution of the republic ; but when it is convenient for parties to be deceived , they shut their eyes upon every circumstance which tends to expose the deception.

It was not indeed necessary at present that the People should be imposed upon , in order to enable the head of the army to reign with an absolute sway in Italy and over all the western provinces. As the troops who were actually under arms looked forward to their general for future provisions and settlements , so the veterans , then established in the country , looked up to him as the guardian of their property , and considered his power as the principal security of what they possessed. If it were necessary , in this case , to preserve the appearances of civil government , in order to conciliate the minds of the citizens , it was equally necessary to preserve the reality of absolute power , in order to gratify the army , and in order to continue to the veterans the principal security by which they held their lands. And this wary politician accommodated himself , with uncommon discernment , to the feelings or prejudices of both.

The superior address of Octavius , in the contest with Antony , gave continual presages of victory on his side ; and from the beginning of the war to its final decision at Actium , and to the last close of the scene in Egypt , partisans were continually passing from the losing to the winning side. Upon the reduction of Egypt , the victor , though pretending to act in the capacity of Roman Consul , did not , as in former times , refer to the Senate the arrangements
to

to be made in his conquest; nor did he wait the formality of a commission from Rome authorizing him to settle the province. He named a governor, and gave orders for the repair of all the public works, which, on account of their effect in distributing the inundations of the Nile, made, in that kingdom, a great and important object of State, and by their being neglected in the late troubles, had occasioned much distress.

The kingdom of Egypt was a principal granary for the supply of Italy, and it is probable that its consequence had been severely felt in the late interruption of its exports. Octavius therefore took measures to secure his possession of a country, by which he observed that the state of Italy and the capital of the empire might be greatly affected. He deprived the Egyptians of all the forms of their monarchy; and, in order to efface the memory of their national independence, and to discontinue pretensions which the inhabitants of Alexandria used to support by tumults and revolts, he abolished all their public assemblies and national councils. He forbade the resort of Egyptian nobles to Rome, and of Roman Senators to Egypt. As there was reason to apprehend that there might still exist, under the ruins of this late opulent monarchy, or under the remains of Antony's party there, some sparks of fire which the ambition or intrigues of any considerable partisan might kindle into a flame, he chose for governor Cornelius Gallus, a person of equestrian rank and moderate pretensions, not likely to harbour ambitious designs; and made it a rule

B O O K to have similar qualifications in future governors,
VI. and to perpetuate the other parts of an establishment which he now made, for the preservation of so important a territory, and the government of so factious a people.

While Octavius made these arrangements in Egypt, he secured a great treasure, of which a considerable part was found in the coffers of the late queen, and part arose from the contributions which he himself imposed on the city of Alexandria and other parts of the kingdom. And being, from these funds, prepared to acquit himself of the pecuniary engagement he had come under to the army, and enabled to make donations to the populace of Rome, whose favor was necessary for him in the further prosecution of his designs, he set out on his return to Italy; but having stopt in the island of Samos; while the army in separate divisions was moving to the westward, he passed the winter at this place, deferring his arrival at Rome until the troops should be assembled, and every other circumstance prepared for the triumphal entries he meant to make into the capital.

During his stay in Samos, the neighbouring towns and provinces vied with each other in demonstrations of submission to his person, and of zeal for his cause. The inhabitants of Pergamus and Nicomedia made offer of divine honors to himself, and petitioned for leave to erect a temple for the purpose of performing these honors. Those of Ephesus and Nicæa, as being more modest or more delicate in their flattery, directed this compliment to

his adoptive father, the late Cæsar, to whom, together with Roma, considered as joint deities, they proposed to erect a shrine and a temple.

C H A P.
I.

In Italy, at the same time, similar or more important tributes of adulation and servility were paid to the victor. At Rome, all the honors with which the republic had been accustomed to reward the eminent service of her citizens, had been for some time lavished on those who were most successful in subverting her government; and these honors were now heaped on Octavius with a profusion proportioned to the ascendant he had gained by the suppression of all his competitors. The statues which had been erected to his rival Marc Antony were broken down, and the name of Marcus for ever forbid in that family; as if the extinction of this rival were an end of every war, notwithstanding that many hostile nations were yet in arms on the frontiers of the empire, the gates of Janus were ostentatiously shut, and Octavius declared to be the restorer of peace to the world. A triumphal arch was erected at Brundisium, on the spot where it was supposed he was to set his foot on shore. The anniversaries of his birth and of his victories were to be celebrated for ever as days of thanksgiving, and his name was to be inserted in the hymns or public prayers which were statedly sung, or offered up for the safety of the commonwealth.

On the first of January, while Octavius was still at Samos, he being admitted a fifth time into the office of Consul, the Senate and People took an oath of allegiance, or, in words more nearly corresponding

U. C. 724.
Imper. Cæsar
sto. Sext. Apu-
leius, ex Kal.
Julia Polit. Va-
ler. Messala.

BOOK

VI.

to the terms of their language, took an oath to observe his acts and decrees. They declared him Tribune of the People for an unlimited time, and extended the powers of this office beyond the usual bounds of the city. They ordained, that from thenceforward the appeals usually made to the People should be made to Cæsar alone, and that in criminal judgments, what was called the vote of Minerva, an act of grace provided for the pardon of criminals when condemned only by a single vote of majority, should from thenceforward be ascribed to him, and consequently be termed, the Mercy, or the Vote of Cæsar³.

The precipitancy, with which the Roman Senate and People now rushed into servitude, had probably no mixture of that sullen design with which the partisans of the republic had prepared the first Cæsar for his fate. The retainers of the victorious party raised the cry of adulation, and they were followed in expressions of servility, by persons who wished to recommend themselves in the most early advances, or who dreaded being marked out for resentment, in case they appeared to be tardy in expressing their zeal. But what, under established monarchy, may be considered as the duty and the loyalty of subjects to their sovereign, and like filial affection, though sometimes partial and misplaced, is always a virtue, and salutary to mankind; in such rapid transitions, from the pretensions of citizens to the submission of slaves, is a mortifying example of

³ Dio Cass. lib. li.

the weakness and depravity to which human nature is exposed. C H A P. I.

The apparent fervility of all orders of men under the usurpation of Julius Cæsar, probably inspired that security which gave the conspirators such an advantage against him. The example, however, put Octavius, though less exposed, much more on his guard; and may serve to account for many of the precautions he took, and for many of the forms he observed in the sequel of his government. He had occasion, indeed, to experience, in his own person, that his precautions were not altogether unnecessary. In the midst of the late demonstrations of joy for his victory, there were still a few who whetted their swords in secret against him, as the cause of their public degradation, and the author of their private wrongs. Lepidus, the son of the late degraded Triumvir, and nephew of Marcus Brutus by his sister Junia, incited probably by this domestic example, and by so many motives of a private and public nature, had procured some accomplices, and was preparing to cut short the usurpation of Octavius on his return to Rome. But this design, no way justified by any considerations of prudence or public utility, was defeated by the vigilance of Mæcenas, and ended in the execution of the young Lepidus, and in the imprisonment of his mother Junia, who remained in confinement until she was admitted to bail, at the humble request of her husband, the late Triumvir and associate in the empire with Octavius and Antony, and who, to the other marks of the humiliation which he now endured,

BOOK
VI.

joined that of being overlooked even by those who were supposed to have suffered by his tyranny^{*}.

Octavius having, by his stay in the island of Samos, disconcerted the effect of this conspiracy, and given sufficient time for the transportation of his army, and the other apparatus of his triumph into Italy, set out for that country, and in his way visited the scene of his late victory at Actium. At this place, Apollo being the principal object of worship, he had immediately, after the action, selected from the captures a galley of each rate to be placed as an offering to the god; and at Toryné, on the opposite side of the Straits, where his own army had been stationed before the engagement, he directed a city to be raised under the name of Nicopolis[†].

The conqueror, upon his arrival at Rome, was received by Politus, who had succeeded to the office of Consul at the resignation of Apuleius, and who, though now his colleague, dropped the pretension to equality, and performed the sacrifices of thanksgiving which had been appointed for his safe return. Octavius hitherto, either by the nature of the wars in which he had been engaged, or by the event of them, had not been entitled to a triumph; or, being, by his temper and great caution, averse to ostentation, he had neglected to avail himself of this honor. But though he himself, in appearance, was no way governed by vanity, something was due to

^{*} Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 88. Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxv.

[†] Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 1. Sueton. in Octav. c. 18.

the public opinion, to the wishes of those who had shared in the glories of his victories, and to the impressions which even pageantry makes on the minds of those who are to be governed. He therefore determined to exhibit three separate triumphal processions. The first for his victory over the Pannonians, the Japydes, and the Dalmatians; the second for his victory at Actium; and the third for the conquest of Egypt. In the first of these triumphs Carinus, by whom the war of Illyricum had been chiefly conducted, was admitted to partake with the commander under whose auspices the subject of triumph had been gained. In the third was exhibited a scene, which, for riches and splendor, greatly surpassed any of the former, being enriched with the treasure he had amassed in Egypt, and with various trophies constructed from the spoils of that country. Among these were carried the effigy of the late queen, having, in allusion to the supposed manner of her death, the asp on her arm. This pageant was followed by her surviving children, who were led as captives.

In these processions a circumstance was remarked, which indicated considerable innovation in the pretensions of the person by whom they were to be led. It had been usual for the officers of State to meet the triumphal march at the gates of Rome, and afterwards to advance before it into the city. In conformity with the first part of this custom, the Consul and other magistrates met the procession at the gates; but suffering the conqueror to pass before them, fell behind, and followed in his

BOOK
VI.

train to the Capitol. Here he deposited, in the Temple of Jupiter, sixteen thousand pondo, or a hundred and sixty thousand ounces of gold, with fifty millions in Roman money, or above four hundred thousand pounds sterling^e; and at the close of the ceremony distributed a thousand sestertii, or above eight pounds of our money a man to the troops; and this, to an army consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, amounted to a sum of near a million sterling. To the officers, besides his pecuniary bounty, he gave honorary rewards. To Agrippa, in particular, he gave a blue ensign in token of his naval victories; to the People he made a donation of four hundred sestertii, or about three pounds five shillings a man, and doubled the usual allowance of corn from the public granaries; discharged all that he owed, remitted all the debts that were due to himself, and refused all the presents which were offered to him from the different towns and districts of Italy.

These accumulations and distributions of foreign spoils at Rome, or the general expectations of prosperous times, produced great or very sensible effects in raising the price of houses, lands, and other articles of sale, whether in Italy or in the contiguous provinces; a circumstance which, joined to the new and strange appearance of the gates of the temple of Janus being shut, as a signal of universal peace, made these triumphs of Octavius appear an era of felicity and hope to the empire.

^e Sueton. in Octavio, c. xxx.

They were followed by other magnificent ceremonies; the dedicating of a temple which had been erected to Minerva, and the opening of a great hall which had been inscribed with the name of Julius Cæsar. In that hall was placed a noted statue of victory which had been brought from Tarentum; and there too were hung up the trophies which had been collected in Egypt. The statue of Cleopatra, in gold, was placed in the temple of Venus, and at the same time the shrine of Julius Cæsar, as well as those of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, were decorated with many ensigns or badges of victory.

On occasion of these solemnities, a variety of games were exhibited: that of Troy, in particular, was now instituted, being a procession formed by youth of high rank, mounted on horseback, and led by Marcellus and Tiberius, the nephew and the stepson of Octavius. Races were run in chariots and on horseback, by persons of high rank; and fights of gladiators were exhibited, in which, to the supposed disgrace of the times, it is remarked, that a Roman Senator, of the name of Quintus Ventilius, was one of the combatants. Numerous parties of captives from the Daci and Suevi, in a form that might pass for real battles, were made to fight for their liberty, that was proposed as the prize of the victors. Many exhibitions were made of hunting and baiting of wild beasts, in which were presented a Rhinoceros and Hippopotamos or Sea-Horse, animals, till then, unknown at Rome. In the time of these entertainments, which continued many days, Octavius either really was, or pretended to

26 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

B O O K be taken ill, and left the honor of presiding at the
VI. shows to some private Senators, who, together with many other members of their body, to increase the solemnity, feasted the People in their turns ⁷.

Such had been the arts by which candidates for public favor, in the latter times of the republic, maintained in the capital the consideration they had gained by their services on the frontiers of the empire; and the continuance of these arts had now the more effect, that the people, who still had a claim to this species of courtship, were become insensible to any other privilege of Roman citizens, and were ready to barter a political consequence, which they were no longer fit to enjoy, for a succession of sports and entertainments that amused their leisure, or for a distribution of bread, which, without the usual and hard conditions of industry or labor, helped to give them subsistence.

It is observed, that in the preceding year, while the Egyptian war was yet in dependance, a concourse of Roman citizens, assuming the powers of the People in public assembly, bestowed on Statilius Taurus by a formal decree, in return for his munificence, in exhibiting matches of gladiators and the baiting of wild beasts, the privilege of naming annually one of the Prætors. So irregular and absurd were become the proceedings of what were called the Assemblies of the People; and the wary Octavius could not overlook the effect of these arts, in gaining their consent to the dominion he meant

⁷ Dio Cass. lib. li. c. 22, 23.

to establish. But while he indulged the People in their disposition to amusement and dissipation, he gave the necessary attention to his military arrangements, and took measures to secure the possession of that principal support, on which sovereignty, in such an empire, must be founded. He had experienced the danger which may arise from armies ill governed, and knew that a power may become insecure, by an abuse of the means by which it is gained. When to the troops, which he himself commanded in Sicily, were joined those of Lepidus and Sextus Pompeius, the engine became too unwieldy for his management, and without any other principle of government, but fear, might baffle his skill to conduct it. He learned, upon that occasion, that the considerations of civil justice, and the respect which is paid to some form of political subordination, are necessary even to the discipline and order of a military establishment.

Upon this account, Octavius, immediately after his victories in Sicily, had proceeded with great address, to reduce and to purge the legions, by dismissing strangers and fugitive slaves, and by ordering the levies from thenceforward to be confined to citizens of Rome. The denomination of Roman citizen, indeed, was no longer appropriated to the descendants of the Alban or Sabin colony, nor even to the inhabitants of the municipal towns of Italy. It had been communicated to many cities and provinces beyond these limits, and it was likely now, with much greater propriety than ever, to be extended to the free, or well-born and respectable

BOOK VI. class of the inhabitants in all parts of the empire. By limiting, however, the levies of the army to this name of respect and of real privilege, Octavius restored, in some degree, the connexion between the civil and military honors, taught the foldier to value himself on his condition as a citizen, and the citizen to consider as an honor the name of a foldier.

Upon this arrangement, the commander in chief of the army, as first magistrate of the commonwealth, had a double claim to obedience, and, joined to his military power, had an authority, derived from a principle of justice and of civil right, without which armies are no more than companies of banditti, whose force may be occasionally turned against the person who leads them, as well as against his enemies.

The legions assembled at Rome, on occasion of the late triumphal processions, were now to be distributed to what were intended as their ordinary stations in time of peace. Of these stations, the principal were on the Euphrates, on the Rhine, and on the Danube; but, before this distribution could be finally made, some troubles, which, notwithstanding the late signal of general peace, still subsisted in some parts of the empire, particularly on the Moselle and the Rhine, in the interior parts of Spain, and on the confines of Macedonia, required attention. To the first of these quarters, Nonius Gallus was sent to reduce the Treviri*, who, in

* The Bishopric of Treves.

concert with some German nations, made incursions into Gaul. Statilius Taurus was sent into Spain, against the Astures and Cantabri⁹, and Marcus Crassus, from Macedonia, had orders to repress the incursions of the Daci and Bastarni, Scythian nations, who had passed the Danube and the mountains of Hæmus, and who had taken possession of some districts in Thrace; but, upon the approach of Crassus, they repassed those mountains, and left the Romans again in possession of the lands, which they had formerly occupied in that quarter¹⁰.

The officers employed on these different services, were no longer, as formerly, supreme in their respective stations, and accountable only to the Senate and People; they were understood to be lieutenants of a superior officer, acting as general governor over all the provinces, and commander in chief of all the armies in the empire. This supreme command, Octavius held under the well known name of *Imperator*, which was usually given in the field to victorious generals, and which he, contrary to former practice, now retained even in the city; and, as we shall have occasion to observe, gradually appropriated to himself and his successors.

In the character which Octavius now assumed, he united, in support of his authority, the prerogatives of Consul, Censor, and Tribune of the Peo-

⁹ The inhabitants of what is now called Asturia and Cantabria.

¹⁰ Dio Cass. lib. lvii. c. 54—57. Tacit. An. lib. iv. c. 5.

BOOK
VI.

ple; and thus, in divesting himself of the name of Triumvir, he affected to re-establish the constitution of the republic, and to restore the ordinary magistrates and officers of state; but to a person, who valued safety no less than power, such an establishment was far from being sufficiently secure. The dignities of Consul, Censor, and Tribune, being by the constitution of the republic separate and temporary, the unprecedented conjunction, and continuance of them in the same person, was a palpable imposition, which could be no longer safe than it was supported by force; and depending on the army merely, without any plea of right, presented an object of ambition to every adventurer, who could bring an army in support of his claim.

These considerations, probably, suggested to Octavius the necessity of endeavouring to strengthen his title. He had hitherto kept possession of the government under various pretences; but never declared any intention to realize, or to perpetuate the sovereignty in his own person. For some time, he had professed no more than a desire to avenge the death of his relation Julius Cæsar. Next, he pretended to remove some disorders which had crept into the commonwealth; and, last of all, to oppose the designs of Antony, who, at the breaking out of the quarrel between them, he suggested, was likely to sacrifice the rights of the Roman People to the caprices of a stranger and a woman.

These rivals, in their appeals to the judgment of the public, vied in their professions of zeal for the commonwealth, mutually challenged each other to

resign their unconstitutional powers; and each retained his own power, under the single pretence that he was obliged to continue in arms, until he should have secured the republic against the designs of his antagonist.

C H A P.

I.

This pretence being now removed, it was become necessary that Octavius should more fully explain himself, and declare upon what footing he was to hold the government. The chief partisans of the republic had fallen by their own hands, or by the swords of their enemies. All his rivals were cut off, and the whole military force of the empire centred in himself; but he had experienced, in the repeated mutinies of the army, the precarious state of his authority over men, who were directed by mere caprice or personal attachment, without any acknowledged title on the part of their leader.

An open usurpation of kingly power was still odious at Rome: it appeared as a direct attack, not only upon the forms of the Roman republic, but likewise as an attack upon the private right of every citizen who pretended to consideration and power proportioned to the rank of his family or his personal qualities; and though the People in general were disposed to submission, yet the violence of a few, who might be willing to expose themselves as the champions of the commonwealth, was still to be dreaded. In this capacity, not only citizens having high pretensions in the civil line, but military officers likewise, might be dangerous to their leader; and chusing rather to claim preferments and honors as their right, than as the gift of a master,

BOOK
VI.

might publicly spurn his authority, or employ against him the hands of some secret assassin, whom in any successful attempt the law would protect, and the public voice would applaud.

Julius Cæsar, whose personal qualities were sufficient to have supported him in any pretensions, still found himself mistaken in relying on the attachment of his own officers, as much as on the submission of his fellow-citizens. He found persons of every condition, still animated with the spirit of republican government, combined for his destruction, and he fell a sacrifice to his excessive security, or rather to the vanity and ostentation with which he affected to hold his power. His successor on the present occasion, as he was by nature more cautious and had less ostentation, so he was taught, by this alarming example to disguise his ambition, or to proceed less directly to his object.

Octavius, therefore, having taken the most effectual measures to secure his power, still thought it necessary to affect a purpose of resigning it, and of restoring the republican government. It is reported, that he even held a serious consultation on this subject with his principal advisers and confidants, Agrippa and Mæcenas. This fact may be questioned, but in a character so entirely made up of artifice and design, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he wished to disguise his thoughts even to his most intimate counsellors, or to secure their approbation before he disclosed his real intentions.

Agrippa and Mæcenas are said to have been of different opinions respecting the propriety of their
master's

master's resignation; and the question accordingly, as it was supposed to be debated in this famous council, has furnished a curious theme to historians and rhetoricians. Agrippa encouraged Octavius to persist in his supposed intention to resign his power, and supported this opinion, by stating the advantages of republican government. "It is the tendency of the republic," he said, "to multiply examples of great men; it is the tendency of monarchy to diminish their numbers, and to sacrifice to one person, the pretensions and the elevation of many. Under the first species of government, the Roman state has attained to its present greatness; under the second, it may languish, and sink to the level of other nations." He put Octavius in mind of his duty to the Senate, and to the Roman People, for whose rights, while he took arms against the murderers of his father, he had always professed the greatest respect — bid him beware of the reproaches he must incur, if it should now appear, either that he had formerly employed the pretence of filial duty as a cloak to his ambition; or that, now finding the People at his mercy, he neglected their rights the moment it was in his power to violate them with impunity. — He mentioned the danger of attempting to reduce into servitude a People, who had been accustomed not only to freedom, but to dominion over other nations; — the difficulties that must arise in the government of so great an empire; — the thorns that are for ever fastened in the pillows of kings; — the dangers to which he must be exposed, from persons who should feel

BOOK
VI.

themselves injured by his seizing the government, or who should think themselves entitled to supplant him, and whose courage, in every attempt against his person, would be extolled as a noble effort of patriotism to restore the freedom of their country.

Mæcenas took the opposite side, and contended for the necessity of a new species of government, in circumstances so different from those in which the republic had been formed. "So great an empire," he said, "surrounded by so many enemies, required the authority and the secret counsels of a prince, aided, but not controuled, by the opinions of those who were qualified to serve him. The time, when the republic might rely on the virtue and moderation of the greater part of her citizens is now no more; men are governed by ambition or interest, and if one person decline the sovereignty, many pretenders will arise, who will again tear the republic asunder by their wars and contentions." He observed, that the fortune or destiny of Octavius had placed him at the head of the commonwealth; that he ought not to despise its gifts, or to throw the Roman People again into a state of confusion and anarchy, out of which he had been destined to save them. From these topics, he proceeded to consider the difficulties to be encountered in the administration of such a government, delivered maxims that contain the wisdom of monarchy, pointed at regulations calculated to preserve some species of civil constitution, yet depending on the will of the prince, and, according to the account

which is given of his speech, suggested at this conference most parts of the plan which Octavius actually carried into execution¹¹. CHAP. I.

In the result of this consultation, it is said, that not only Octavius, but Agrippa likewise, embraced the opinion of Mæcenas; and that they, from thenceforward, considered the secure establishment of the monarchy as the common object of all their councils. They appear to have agreed, that Octavius should treat the Senate as he had in this conference treated his friends; that he should propose to resign his power, affect to make his continuing to hold it the result of their own deliberations, and, by these means, obtain the sanction of a legal establishment.

To smoothe the way to this end, some previous steps were yet to be taken. Much had already been done by Octavius to secure his power, to reconcile his new subjects, and, in case of any competition, to recommend himself to the public choice; but some caution was still to be employed in bringing forward a question, relating to the continuance of the present government, or the restoration of the republic. The Senate, on whose readily embracing and acting the part that was expected from them the whole depended, was to be scrutinized and purged of all members, who were, by their love of republican government, or by any other circumstances, likely to mar the design. A single voice in this assembly, given for receiving

¹¹ Dio Cass. lib. lii. c. 1—43.

36 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

B O O K
VI.

U. C. 725.

Imperator

Cæsar VI.

M. Agrippa.

the demission, which Octavius was about to offer, might have greatly disconcerted his project, obliged him to throw aside his disguise, and might have made it necessary for him to continue holding by force what he wished to receive by consent, or even to have pressed upon him by the entreaties of all orders of men. In order to cultivate the dispositions with which he already endeavoured to inspire the Senate and the People, he himself, in conjunction with Agrippa, entered on the office of Consul for the sixth time, divided the Fasces with him, as usual in the purest times of the republic, and in all the exertions of their authority, or in the discharge of their common duties, knowing how little he had to apprehend from the pretensions of his colleague, affected to rank with him on the most perfect foot of equality.

The new Consuls, in proceeding to their principal object, which was to reform the Senate, and to fill it with such members as were likely to co-operate in the design they had formed, of obtaining for Octavius the sovereignty by a formal consent, made a review or Census, as usual, of all the different orders of the commonwealth; and having, in consequence of the late troubles, much property as well as public honors in their power, they had an opportunity to enrich, as well as to promote, those whom they wished to oblige; and accordingly made such a distribution of estates and dignities, as plainly showed, that obsequiousness to the will of Cæsar was the road to distinction and fortune.

At this Census or review of the People, the Roman

citizens were found to amount to four million one hundred and sixty four thousand men fit to carry arms¹². So much had their number, without any increase of population, augmented by the continual admission of the freemen of entire towns and provinces, upon the rolls of the People.

The Senate had, during the devastations, and in the event of the civil wars, not only lost those who made its principal ornament, considered as a republican council, but had even undergone a great, if not an entire change of its members. It consisted now of persons occasionally intruded by the parties lately contending for superiority; many, in particular, named by Antony, and who, during the late struggles, endeavoured to support the cause of their patron. These, more especially, it was the object of Octavius to remove; but being desirous to court all orders of men, as well as to set aside his enemies, he affected a reluctance in expelling particular persons and recommended to those, who were conscious of any disqualification, voluntarily to withdraw their names.

In consequence of this intimation, fifty Senators retired, probably most of them conscious of a disaffection to the reigning power. One hundred and forty more were struck off the rolls. In discharging this invidious service, Octavius was guarded by ten chosen Senators, who surrounded

¹² The whole number of souls must have exceeded sixteen millions. Eusebii Chronicon. Cæsar Imperator VI. M. Agrippa, p. 168.

BOOK VI. his person with concealed weapons, and is said himself to have been cased in armour under his robe. He, at the same time, endeavoured to palliate the severity of his censures in different ways, suffering those, who were excluded from the Senate, still to retain the dress of that order, and to enjoy, at the theatre and other public places, the usual precedence of the Senatorian rank. Under pretence of rendering the order itself more independent and more respectable, he raised the money qualification of a Senator from eight to twelve hundred thousand sesterces²³; and, without any personal imputation, affected to exclude some Senators for the want of this new qualification, others he contrived to gain by a very artful method of bribery, alledging, that the public should not be deprived of the services of worthy citizens merely by a deficiency in their fortune, he, from his own coffers, made up the estates of several Senators to the new qualification. A striking instance of the policy in which he excelled; at once the most effectual to obtain his purpose, and the most artful to palliate or to conceal his design.

By the forms which the present Consuls, Octavius and Agrippa, affected to observe in the discharge of their public duties, the republic seemed so much to revive, that one Quintus Statilius was tempted to offer himself as candidate in free election for the office of Tribune; but in this instance, Octavius thought himself obliged to resume the character of

²³ From about 7000 l. to 10,000 l.

master. Although he employed the forms of the republic to reconcile the minds of men to his government, he knew how to distinguish what had a tendency to ravish that government out of his hands, or to embroil him in contests with the people: he therefore commanded this candidate for the office of Tribune to withdraw his pretensions, and not to awaken, by his unseasonable canvass, the turbulent dispositions which had formerly so much afflicted the State.

In the arts which were practised on the citizens of Rome, shows, processions, and public entertainments always made a part, and they operated on this People, perhaps operate on all mankind, with such powerful effects, as not to be overlooked without the danger of mistaking the circumstances which lead to the most important events. Octavius, aware of this circumstance, on the present as well as on former occasions, having temples and other public works executed with great magnificence, celebrated the dedication, or the completion of them, with many pompous entertainments and shows; he furnished, at his own expense, the circus and theatres with continual entertainments, with the fights of gladiators, and the baiting or hunting of wild beasts. While he thus encouraged the People in their usual vices of idleness and dissipation, he avoided laying any new burdens, cancelled all arrears due to the treasury within the city, and increased fourfold the gratuitous distribution of corn. To these popular arts, he joined a species of amnesty of all past offences and differences; repealed all the

40 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK
VI.

acts, which during the late violent times, the spirit of party had dictated; and, to quiet the apprehensions of many, who were conscious of having taken part with his enemies, he gave out that all papers or records seized in Egypt, upon the final reduction of Antony's party, were destroyed; though in this Dio Cassius contradicts him, and alledges, that such papers were preserved, and afterwards employed in evidence against persons whom he thought proper to oppress¹⁴.

U. C. 726.
Imperator Cæ-
sar VII. M.
Agrippa III.

At the close of this memorable Consulship, Octavius laid down the Fasces, and, agreeable to the forms of the republic, took the usual oath of declaration, that he had faithfully, and with his utmost ability, discharged the duties of his station. Being destined to the same office of Consul for the following year, he resumed the ensigns of power; and thinking the Senate and People, by the steps he had already taken, sufficiently prepared for the subject he meant to bring under consideration, he, on the Ides, or thirteenth of January, surprised them with a direct and full resignation of all the extraordinary powers which he held in the empire. This solemn act he accompanied with a speech, which, according to his usual practice, having committed it to writing, he read. Being sensible that his sincerity would be questioned, and that his having taken the most effectual measures to obtain and to secure the government was but an ill indication of his intention to resign it, he employed a great

¹⁴ Lib. lii. c. 42, &c.

part of his harangue in removing suspicions, not merely by assurances of sincerity, but by arguments likewise drawn from general topics of probability and reason. To this purpose, he observed, that many persons, who were themselves incapable of such intentions, might doubt his sincerity, and that many, who could not behold a superior without envy, would be disposed to misrepresent his actions; but that the immediate execution of the purpose he had declared, would remove every doubt, would silence every attempt of calumny, entitle him to credit, and to their just esteem.

“ That I have it in my power to retain the government,” he said, “ no one will question. Of my enemies, some have suffered the just effects of their own obstinacy, and others, having experienced my clemency, are fully reconciled. My friends are confirmed in their attachment, by the mutual exchange of good offices between us, and by a participation in the management of affairs. I have no real danger to fear, and any alarm I might receive, would only hasten the proofs I am in condition to give of my power. I have many allies, and numerous forces, well attached to my person; money, magazines, and stores of every description; with what is of more consequence than all these put together, I am placed, by the choice of the Senate and People of Rome, at the head of the republic.

“ What I now do, I hope will explain my past actions, and silence those who impute my former conduct to ambition, or who suppose that I am

BOOK
VI.

“ not now sincere in the resignation which I profess to make. Having the sovereignty at present in my possession, I renounce it, and deliver into your hands, the army, the state, the provinces, not merely in the condition in which I received them, but in a condition much improved by my exertions.

“ Let this action then evince the sincerity of the declarations I made, when, being engaged in the late unhappy contest, I professed that my intentions were to obtain justice against the murderers of my father, and some relief to the commonwealth from the evils with which it was afflicted.

“ I wish, indeed, that this task had never been imposed upon me; that the republic had never stood in need of my services, and that the fatal divisions we had experienced, had never taken place. But since the fates had otherwise decreed, and since the republic, young as I was, required even my assistance, I declined no labor, I shunned no danger, I made efforts above my years and my strength. Neither toil nor danger, the entreaties of my friends, the threats of my enemies, the tumults of the seditious, nor the fury of those who opposed me, could turn me aside from the pursuit of your good. I forgot myself; I became altogether yours. The event with respect to you, is known; for myself, the only reward I desire, is the sense of having delivered my country from the evils with which it was distressed, and of having restored you to the state

“ of peace and tranquillity which you now enjoy.
“ With these advantages, resume your political trust,
“ and the forms of your constitution; take charge of
“ your provinces, and the direction of your mili-
“ tary forces; conduct every part according to the
“ rules and precedents which were laid down by
“ your ancestors.

“ My conduct, in this resignation, will not ap-
“ pear unaccountable to those who have observed
“ the moderation with which I have frequently
“ declined the uncommon distinctions by which you
“ offered to raise me above the level of my fellow-
“ citizens; nor to those who know the real value
“ of human possessions, will it appear a folly, that
“ having such an empire in my power, I choose to
“ resign it. If I am supposed to have any regard to
“ justice, what more just than that I should restore to
“ you what is your own? If I am supposed to be
“ governed by prudence; what more prudent, than
“ to withdraw from trouble, from general envy, and
“ from the snares of my enemies? if I am supposed
“ to aim at glory, the great object for which men
“ have most willingly exposed themselves to hazards
“ and toils, what more glorious than to dispose of
“ empire to others, and to rest secure myself in the
“ honors of a private station?

“ Having the choice of many actions, which re-
“ flect honor on my father's memory, and may do
“ so on my own, these actions I prefer to any other;
“ *that he, being offered the sovereignty of his country,*
“ *refused to accept of it; and that I myself, being in*
“ *actual possession of that sovereignty, have resigned it.*

BOOK
VI.

“ To these actions, the conquest of Gaul, of
 “ Myfia, of Egypt and Pannonia, the victories
 “ obtained over Pharnaces, Juba, and Phraates, the
 “ passage of the Rhine, and of the British sea,
 “ though far exceeding the achievements of former
 “ times are yet of inferior account: even the me-
 “ rit of having conducted to so glorious an issue the
 “ unhappy contest in which we have been engaged,
 “ the having overcome as enemies all who withstood
 “ our reformatations, the having protected as friends
 “ all who were pacific and well inclined to the com-
 “ monwealth, the having by moderation and cle-
 “ mency stript civil war itself of many of its great-
 “ est evils, are not comparable to this; *That being*
 “ *in a condition to reign, we have not been intoxicated*
 “ *with power: neither could he be seduced to accept of a*
 “ *crown which was offered to him, nor I to retain a*
 “ *dominion which is actually in my hands.*

“ I do not mention any past action from ostenta-
 “ tion, or with a view to profit by the advantage
 “ it gives me, but merely to show, that I know the
 “ value of my present conduct, and have made it
 “ my choice, because I think it more glorious than
 “ any other conduct I could hold.

“ I might, indeed (not to drag any more the name
 “ of my father into this argument), challenge any
 “ one to compare with myself in the part which I
 “ now act. Being at the head of great and well ap-
 “ pointed armies attached to my person; being
 “ master of the seas within the pillars of Hercules;
 “ of all the towns and provinces of this mighty
 “ empire, without any foreign enemy, or domestic

“ sedition to molest me; being cheerfully acknow-
“ ledged and obeyed as sovereign in profound peace,
“ I now willingly and of my own accord resign the
“ whole, from a regard to my fellow-citizens, and
“ from a respect for the laws of my country.

“ What I have to apprehend, is not your insensi-
“ bility to the merit of what I perform, but your
“ doubt of its reality, and of the sincerity of my
“ intention; but you give credit to illustrious ex-
“ amples recorded of former times. You admit
“ that the Horatii and the Decii, that Mucius,
“ Curtius, and Regulus exposed themselves to dan-
“ ger, even rushed upon certain destruction to estab-
“ lish for themselves a reputation after death. Why
“ should not I, to enjoy, even during my lifetime,
“ a fame far superior to theirs, perform the action
“ which I now propose? Were the ancients alone
“ possessed of magnanimity? or is the age become
“ barren and unable to bring forth such examples?

“ Think not, however, that I mean to revive the
“ late public distractions, or propose to commit the
“ government to an unruly and factious multitude.
“ No; broken with toil, and overwhelmed with
“ labor as I am, I should prefer death to such a de-
“ sertion of the public cause. To you, my Fathers,
“ who possess wisdom and virtue equal to the trust,
“ I resign this government. Weary with solicitude
“ and care, I retire from that envy which the best
“ of men cannot escape, and prefer the glories of a
“ private life to the dangers of empire. To your
“ judgments, and to that multiplicity of counsel
“ which must in wisdom ever excel the reason and

BOOK

VI.

“ understanding of any single person, I now com-
 “ mit the republic. I therefore adjure you, in con-
 “ sideration of any service which I may have ren-
 “ dered to my country, either in a civil or military
 “ capacity, that you will suffer me to retire in quiet,
 “ and give me an opportunity to evince, that I
 “ know how to obey as well as how to command;
 “ and that, while in power, I imposed no condition
 “ upon others, with which, as a subject, I am not
 “ myself willing to comply. In this capacity, my
 “ conscience tells me, that unguarded and unattend-
 “ ed I may rely for safety on your affection, and
 “ that I have nothing to fear, either in the way
 “ of violence or insult. But, if there should be a dan-
 “ ger from any secret enemy, (for what person ever
 “ passed through scenes like those, in which I have
 “ acted, without creating some private enemies?)
 “ it is better to die, than to purchase security by en-
 “ flaving my country. If the event should be fa-
 “ tal, posterity at least will do me the justice to
 “ own, that so far from seeking a kingdom at the
 “ expense of the blood of other men, I have freely
 “ resigned one at the hazard of my own. Whoever
 “ wrongs me, will have the immortal Gods and you
 “ for their enemies; they will perish, as the mur-
 “ derers of my father have perished, leaving their
 “ names as monuments of divine justice and wrath.
 “ In this, every one has had his just retribution;
 “ my father is placed among the Gods, and is
 “ vested with eternal glory; his murderers have un-
 “ dergone the punishment due to their crimes.

“ All men are born to die; but he who dies, as well

“ as lives with honor , in some measure disappoints
“ his fate , and acquires a species of immortal life.
“ I have lived , as I trust , with honor ; the other
“ and less arduous part of my task , I hope is like-
“ wise in my power. I now , therefore , restore to
“ you the arms , the governments , the revenue , and
“ all the legal powers of the commonwealth. Be
“ not dismayed by the greatness of the object on
“ the one hand , nor receive it too lightly on the
“ other. My counsel , in what relates to matters
“ of moment , shall be freely given.

“ Let the law be the unalterable rule of your
“ conduct. In the administration of government ,
“ a determinate order , though attended with some
“ inconveniency , is preferable to fluctuation and
“ frequent change , which , aiming at improvement ,
“ renders the condition of men precarious and un-
“ certain.

“ In private therefore , as well as in public life ,
“ comply with the laws ; not as persons who aim
“ at impunity merely , but as persons who aim
“ at the rewards which are due to merit.

“ Commit the provinces , whether in peace or
“ war , to men of wisdom and virtue ; do not envy
“ each other the emoluments that attend the public
“ service ; strive not for profit to yourselves , but for
“ security and prosperity to the commonwealth ; re-
“ ward the faithful , punish the guilty ; not only
“ consider the public property as too sacred to be
“ invaded , but consider even your private possessions
“ as a debt which you owe to the State. Manage
“ well what is your own ; covet not what belongs

48 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK
VI.

“ to others ; wrong not your allies or subjects ; do
 “ not rashly provoke any power to hostility , nor
 “ meanly stand in fear of those who are disposed
 “ to be your enemies. Be always armed , but not
 “ against each other , nor against those who are
 “ inclined to peace. Supply your troops regularly
 “ with what is appointed for their pay and subsist-
 “ ence , that they may not be tempted to supply
 “ themselves by invading the property of their fel-
 “ low-citizens ; keep them under strict discipline ,
 “ that they may respect their duty as guardians of the
 “ public peace , and not become , from a consci-
 “ ousness of their force , a school for violence and
 “ the commission of crimes.

“ Such in general are the rules of your conduct ,
 “ of which it is not necessary to make the particular
 “ applications : these are sufficiently evident. One
 “ thing only I will mention , before I conclude. If
 “ you conform yourselves to these rules , you will
 “ be happy , and you will owe thanks to me , for hav-
 “ ing placed the administration in your hands ; but ,
 “ if you depart from them , you will make me to
 “ repent of what I now do , and you will relapse
 “ into all the disorders from which I have so hap-
 “ pily rescued the commonwealth.”

Such is the purport of a speech , said to have been delivered by Octavius , in announcing his intention to resign the empire. The performance may not appear worthy of the person to whom it is ascribed , and , like other speeches recorded in ancient history , may have been framed by the historian ¹⁵. The

¹⁵ Dio Cass.

occasion however was remarkable, and this speech having been committed to writing, may have been preserved in the records of the Senate. The historian may have copied it from thence; or, if disposed to fabricate a speech, could not in this case, without detection, substitute any fiction for what was real. The composition indeed may have suffered in the first translation¹⁶, as well as in this extract or paraphrase of it; but the matter, though not such as might have been expected from the conqueror of the Roman empire on a serious occasion, and in the actual exertion of all his abilities, yet is such as we may suppose Octavius to have employed in supporting an assumed character, and in proposing what he did not wish to obtain.

C H A P.

I.

The references which, in ushering in this pretended resignation, are made to the disorders of the late republic; the arguments which are made use of to prove the sincerity of a purpose to resign the government of it, and the ostentation of great merit in making this sacrifice, are well enough suited to the part which the speaker was acting, and to the solicitude under which he spoke, not to make too deep an impression, nor to be taken at his word. The barefaced and palpable imposture in which he was engaged, did not admit of the dignity which might have been expected in so high a place; and, if the history of this pretended resignation were not confirmed by the united testimony of many writers, and still more by the lasting effects of it, in the

¹⁶ From the Latin to Greck.

BOOK
VI.

forms and in the state of the empire, the want of dignity in other parts of this business, as well as in the tenor of this speech, might create a doubt of its veracity; but the same forms of resignation were again repeated, and great festivals ¹⁷ at certain periods were held on this account.

As soon as this speech was ended, notwithstanding the many evils which had been recently felt under the republic, it is probable, that if Octavius had appeared to be sincere in making it, his proposal to restore the commonwealth would have been received with joy. There were yet many who revered the ancient constitution, and lamented the loss of their own political consequence. Some, who would have been glad to renew the competition for power and dominion which had been recently decided, and many, who would have rejoiced to find so much consequence at once bestowed on the order of Senators to which they themselves had been unexpectedly raised; but as much care had been taken in the nomination of Senators, to fill this assembly with unambitious men who were likely to prefer peace to every other object, or with men of a servile cast, who would follow the cry when raised to confirm the Emperor's power, it is probable, that proper persons were prepared to lead the way in the part which the Senate was to take on this occasion.

The majority of the meeting indeed was surprised and perplexed. There could be no doubt, that Oc-

¹⁷ The Decennalia.

tavius wished to have his proposal rejected ; but it would have been an ill manner of paying court, to appear to have penetrated his design. It was necessary to affect implicit faith in the sincerity of his purpose, at the same time to withstand the execution of it in the most peremptory manner. This ground being pointed out by those who were in the concert, or by those who had discernment enough to perceive it, was instantly seized by the whole assembly¹⁸. They beseeched Octavius, as with one voice, not to abandon the commonwealth ; observed, that services, still greater than those he had already performed, were yet due to the republic : that the fear of his intending to resign the government, had already filled the minds of the People with a cruel anxiety ; that he alone could quiet their apprehensions, by not only remaining at the head of the empire, but by accepting the government in such a formal manner, as would give them assurance of his continuing to hold it¹⁹.

To this request, Octavius was inexorable ; but he was prevailed upon not to lay the whole load of administration at once on the Senate. He was willing to administer some part of the government for a limited time, and to retain the command of the army for ten years ; to continue his inspection over some of the most refractory provinces, such as were yet unsettled, such as were wild and uncultivated, such as had many inaccessible retreats, under the fa-

¹⁸ Zonar. lib. x. c. 34.

¹⁹ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 11.

BOOK

VI.

vor of which the People still continued unsubdued, or still in condition to rebel. He agreed to take charge of such provinces on the frontier, as, being contiguous to warlike and hostile neighbours, were exposed to frequent invasion; but such as were already pacific, and accustomed to civil forms, such as were reconciled to the tribute which they paid, he insisted that the Senate, as the more easy and profitable part of the government, should take under their own administration; and that they should be ready to relieve him of the whole, or any part of his burden, at the expiration of the period to which he limited his acceptance of the military command.

By this imaginary partition of the empire, the provinces which in Africa had formed the states of Carthage and Cyrene, with the kingdom of Numidia; — in Europe, the more wealthy and pacific parts of Spain, the island of Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete; with the different districts of Greece, Epirus, Macedonia, and Dalmatia; and beyond the Ægean sea, the rich province of Asia, with the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus, were committed to the jurisdiction of the Senate.

The Emperor still retained, under his own immediate charge, the more warlike districts in Spain, in Gaul, and in Syria, with the kingdom of Egypt, and all the great military stations and resorts of the legions on the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine²⁰. Some time afterwards, under pretence of a war which arose in Dalmatia, he accepted of

²⁰ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 12. Strabo, lib. xvii. fine.

this province, in exchange for the island of Cyprus, and the district of Narbonne.

C H A P.

I.

It was understood, that the Emperor and the Senate, in their quality of partners in the sovereignty, should have the nomination of governors in their respective provinces; that those named by the Senate should be civil officers merely, with the title of Proconsul, but without the power of the sword or any military rank, and they were not to remain in office longer than one year, that the officers to be named by the Emperor, were to have military rank, with the title of Proprætor, and were to act in the capacity of his lieutenants, accountable only to himself, and to hold their commissions during his pleasure²¹.

From the reformatiions which Octavius now made in the establishment of the provinces, it appeared that he himself clearly understood the circumstances by which those members of the empire had become too great for the head, and by which the dependencies of the republic had become the means of its ruin; that he looked back to the steps, by which the first Cæsar and himself had advanced to dominion, and wished to efface the track, in order that no one might follow it, or employ the same means to supplant himself, which Julius Cæsar had employed to subvert the republic.

The provinces of the Roman empire had been hitherto not so much the demesne of the commonwealth, as the property of private citizens, by whom

²¹ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 13.

54 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

B O O K
VI.

they were conveyed from one to another by quick succession. As they were received in trust for the republic, without any particular assignment of a share in the profits²², great part was diverted to private uses; or where great sums were to be accounted for to the state, there was much extorted likewise to enrich individuals by peculation and oppression.

From their stations abroad, the officers of the republic returned with the spoils of the provinces to purchase importance at Rome. If they were frequently changed, the empty hand was often held out with fresh rapacity, and the full one brought back with quicker succession to corrupt the city: if continued too long, they acquired the force of great monarchs, got possession of armies and of revenue, and had sufficient resources of men and money to enable them to make war on the state. Marius and Sylla showed what could be done with armies, levied from the opposite factions in the city of Rome; and Julius Cæsar showed what use

²² The provincial officers under the republic had no salary, nor public appointments. They were understood to subsist at the expense of the provinces; and in their journies were allowed to impress horses and carriages, and to demand every supply of provisions and forage for the numerous retinue or court that usually attended them. These powers being abused, it was proposed that the provincial officers should be supplied by contract; but the leaders of faction at Rome went forth to the provinces, with a power that could not be restrained by any rules whatever.

could be made of the extensive territory, intrusted for a continual term of years to the government of the same person. The republic had often tottered under the effect of disorders which arose in the capital, but fell irrecoverably under the blows that were struck from the provinces.

It is evident, that the head of the empire, of whatever description, whether a commonwealth or the court of a monarch, could not be safe under this distribution of power and trust. Measures were accordingly now taken by Octavius to reform the establishment, and to reduce the provincial officers to their proper state of subordination and dependance. The duties they were to levy, and their own emoluments, were clearly ascertained. The greater provinces were divided, and separate officers appointed to each division. Neither men nor money were to be levied without authority from the Emperor and the Senate, nor was any officer, to whom a successor was appointed, to remain in his command, or to absent himself from Rome above three months²³. To secure the observance of these regulations, and to accelerate the communication from every part of the empire, an institution, resembling that of the modern posts, was for the first time introduced in the ancient world. Couriers were placed at convenient stages, with orders to forward from one to the other the public dispatches. It was afterwards thought more effectual, for the purpose of intelligence, to transport the original messenger to Rome.

²³ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 13.

BOOK
VI.

In this establishment, the Senate and the Emperor, in their respective civil and military characters, had their several departments, and their revenue apart; what was collected in the provinces of the Senate, went to the *Ærarium* or public treasury; what was collected in the provinces of *Cæsar*, went to his own coffers. The latter professed being no more than a servant of the public, appointed for a limited time; but, in being head of the army, he secured the sovereignty, and meant to employ the Senate only as an aid to retain the army within the bounds of their duty. In his proposal to divest himself of the government, there was sufficient reason to suspect his sincerity; but in this partial and supposed temporary resumption of government, the artifice was so obvious, as to become a species of insult upon the understandings of mankind. The Romans, nevertheless, on this memorable occasion had learned to be courtiers, could affect to want penetration and conceal their sentiments.

The Senate, in return to the Emperor's gracious acceptance of the government, proceeded to distinguish his person; and even the place of his residence, by many honorary decrees. They took into their serious consideration, by what title he should for the future be known. That of King had always been odious at Rome; that of Dictator had been feared, ever since the sanguinary exercise of its powers by *Sylla*, and it had been formally abolished by law, soon after the demise of *Julius Cæsar*. The name of *Romulus* was proposed, and thought due to *Octavius*, as the second founder of Rome;

but this name he himself rejected, not on account of the ridicule conveyed in it, but on account of the implication of kingly power. The title of Augustus was in the end accepted by him, rather as an expression of personal respect, than as a mark of any new or unprecedented dignity in the commonwealth.

While the Senate bestowed on their Emperor the title of Augustus, they ordered that the court of his palace should be for ever hung with laurel, the badge of victories that were ever fresh in the minds of the People, and with wreaths of oak, the usual distinction of those who had saved a fellow-citizen; in token that the Roman People were continually preserved by his acceptance of the sovereignty, and by the wisdom of his administration.

Octavius from henceforward came to be known by the name of Augustus. He had been some time the object of fear, and consequently of adulation to the People, and was now probably become the object of that fond admiration, with which the bulk of mankind regard those who are greatly elevated by fortune. Under the effect of this sentiment, or supported by the prevalence of it, citizens of high rank devoted themselves to Augustus, as they were told that the vassal devoted himself to his Lord in some of the barbarous cantons of Spain and Gaul. They took an oath to interpose their persons in all his dangers, and if he must die, to perish with him. The dying, under pretence of bequeathing some legacy to Augustus, introduced his name in their wills, with a lavish encomium or flattering

58 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK
VI.

character. Many appointed him sole heir, or, together with their children, the joint heir of all their fortunes. Some, on their death-bed, bequeathed particular sums to defray the expence of sacrifices to the Gods for this signal blessing, *that Augustus was still living when they expired.*

C H A P. I I.

*State of the Emperor. — Condition of the Empire. —
Amount of the revenue unknown. — Military Estab-
lishments, &c.*

IN what degree the court which began to be paid to Augustus, and which continued during his reign, proceeded from design and servility, or respect and affection, we must endeavour to collect from a farther view of his life, and must suspend our judgment until the scene of his trial is passed. At the late formal establishment of the monarchy in his person, he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and had still the aspect of youth. His complexion is said to have been fair, his eyes bright, and his features regular and elegant. He was well made in his person, and though below the middling stature, had so much the proportions of a tall man, as, except when compared with some person who overlooked him, to appear above the ordinary size. Two-and-twenty years of a life so little advanced, he had passed in the midst of civil wars, and in the contest for empire, which was begun by his adoptive father, and maintained by himself. During seventeen of those years he had himself been a

C H A P.
II.

BOOK
VI.

leader of party, and veered in his professions and conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen in behalf of the republic; at another time courting the veterans, by affecting concern for their interests, and a zeal to revenge their late general's death. He opposed himself to Antony, or joined with him as suited with the state of his affairs; made or broke concerts with the other leaders of faction, made and unmade treaties of marriage; even had intrigues of pleasure with women to forward some political design¹; and at an age when other young men have scarcely any object but pleasure, sacrificed every supposed private or public connexion, and every friend and every enemy to his ambition, or to the cool and deliberate consideration of his own conveniency.

By such means as these Octavius became sovereign of the Roman empire at the age of three-and-thirty years, the same age at which Alexander, with the greatest efforts of ability and courage, which were afterwards marred by equal instances of intemperance and folly, effected the conquest of the Persian monarchy. Much, no doubt, in the fortunes of men, is to be imputed to accident. To this they owe, at least, great part of the occasions on which they act; but the use of the occasion, and sometimes the preparation of it, is their own; and nothing besides the most consummate abilities can, through a great variety of scenes, retain the

¹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 69.

uniform appearance of a fortunate life. It is true, that Octavius, with the name of Cæsar, was become convenient or necessary to the military faction which he found already formed in the empire; that his youth, and other circumstances, prevented the alarm which might have led his enemies to take more effectual and earlier measures against him. But he did not fail to improve these advantages; affected, when necessary, to be the mere instrument of the army, or of the Senate, for obtaining their respective purposes; preserved the same discretion in every state of his fortunes; and, with the same address with which he supplanted every rival in the contest for power, continuing to avoid every offensive appearance in the model of his government, he still retained the forms of the commonwealth; and, besides the title of Augustus, did not introduce any new appellation of dignity or of office².

Every possible power under the republic had been implied in the titles of Consul, Censor, Augur,

² The title of *Princeps* had been usually given to the person whose name was first in the rolls of the Senate, and Augustus assumed it in no other sense than this; that of *Imperator* had been given to every successful leader of an army, and in its application to Octavius, implied no pre-eminence above what other leaders had formerly enjoyed. These titles, indeed, by being from henceforward appropriated to the sovereign, acquired, by degrees, their significance in the original language; and in our translation of them into *Prince* and *Emperor*, are applied only to royal persons, and the sovereigns of extensive dominion.

62 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK
VI.

Pontiff, and Tribune of the People. Some of them could, even under that form of government, have been united in the same person, as that of Augur and Pontiff, with the office either of Consul or Cenfor; and there was no law to forbid the accumulation of such dignities in the hands of the same person, probably because it was deemed sufficiently difficult to arrive at any of them apart. To constitute a despotic power, therefore, provided that these titles could be united in the same person, it was not necessary to introduce any new forms of office, nor even to assume the name of Dictator. It was more effectual to unite the prerogatives of separate stations in the person of one man, or to bestow them on persons, who would be content to employ them at the pleasure of a master; and this method accordingly being suited to the wary policy and affected modesty of Octavius, could not escape him in the choice of his model.

In the character of Consul, the new Emperor presided in the Senate, and was first executive magistrate in the city. In the character of Tribune he could not only suspend all proceedings, whether of administration, of public council, or of justice; but likewise could punish with instant death any breach of the peace, or any attempt that was made on his own person. In the capacity of Cenfor, which was now comprehended in the office of Consul, he was the fountain of honor, could pry into every citizen's private life, and could promote or degrade, at pleasure, every person who had courted

his favor, or incurred his dislike. In the capacity of Augur and Pontiff he could over-rule the superstition of the times; and, last of all, in the capacity of Imperator, or head of the army, he held, at his disposal, all the forces of the empire, both by sea and by land. The republic at the same time, retained most of its forms. There were meetings of the Senate, and assemblies of the People; there were laws enacted, and elections made; affairs proceeded as usual in the name of the Consul, the Cenfor, the Augur, and Tribune of the People. The only change which had happened, and that which the Emperor endeavoured to disguise, was, that he himself acted in all these capacities, and dictated every resolution in the Senate, and pointed out every candidate who was to succeed in the pretended elections.

In these appearances of republican government, however, which were preserved by Octavius, we are not to suppose, that there was any image of that mixed constitution, which subsists with so much advantage in some of the kingdoms of modern Europe. The Roman Senate, under the Emperors, was no more than a species of privy council, of which the members were named or displaced by the prince; and, which, under some specious appearances of freedom in their speech, were actually the mere instruments of his will.

The Comitia, or Assemblies of the People, had still less of their original dignity or power. We have had occasion to observe, that even under the republic, when the number of citizens, fit to array

B O O K
VI.

in the field of Mars, amounted to no more than four hundred thousand men, it was impossible that any adequate number could be assembled for any purpose of legislation or election. In the present times, when the musters extended to four millions, and the Roman citizens were dispersed over the whole empire, the assembly of any proportionable number was still more impracticable. No precautions had ever been taken, even under the republic, to prevent the great irregularities to which the assemblies of the People were exposed, nor was it ever ascertained what numbers were necessary to constitute a legal assembly. In consequence of this defect, in the latter times of the republic, any tumultuary meeting, however thinly or partially assembled, took the sacred name of the Roman People, and gave officers to the State, or laws to the commonwealth. Every faction which, by violence or surprise, could seize the place of the assembly, so as to exclude their opponents, were masters of the elections, or sovereigns of the State.

After Julius Cæsar had taken possession of the city, he had no difficulty in commanding the elections, or the resolutions of the People; he even planned the succession that was to take place in his absence; and, being to set out for Asia, he named the officers of State for five years. The Triumvirs, in like circumstances, fixed the succession for different periods of an equal and greater length; and it was now understood, that the offices of State, though under the show of popular election, were actually filled up by the Emperor.

The

The apparent respect which, under the present establishment, was paid to civil forms implied no abatement of the military power. On the contrary, instead of weakening, it served to support, as usual, the authority of that government, under which these forms were observed. By flattering the People with an idea that their political consequence was still entire, this semblance of the ancient republic reconciled them to the state of degradation into which they were fallen. It vested the Emperor himself with a species of civil character, and with a political consideration which he could employ in support of his military power, and which, in some measure, secured him against the caprice of troops, who might think themselves entitled to subvert what they alone had established. It enabled him to treat their mutinies as acts of treason, and as crimes of state. He was no longer obliged to court their favor, or to affect condescension, in order to obtain their obedience. He accordingly, in consequence of the late votes of the Senate, changed the style of his address to the legions, calling them *Milites*, not *Commilitones*; *Soldiers*, not *Fellow-soldiers*, as formerly.

This was probably the whole amount of the political establishment now made by Octavius, and which he meant to employ as a stock on which to ingraft his military power. The Senate and assemblies of the People were retained only in name, and were far from having the energy of collateral members in the government, such as could check or controul the perpetual executive.

66 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

B O O K
VI.

which was now established in the empire: but we shall nevertheless be disappointed, if, upon a supposition of absolute power in the Emperor, we expect, in his court, the splendor and magnificence of a royal estate.

Octavius still lived in the house of Hortensius, a Roman Senator, which he occupied without making any addition to it, either in point of dimension or ornament. The equipage, retinue, or accommodation of the imperial family was not composed for show and magnificence, as in monarchies long established. Such an attempt in the eyes of a decayed republic might have had an improper effect, might have moved envy, and not procured respect³. The Emperor indeed was attended with an armed guard; but this was intended for safety, and not for parade. He preserved, in his own person, the exterior appearances of a citizen, was accosted by the simple name of Cæsar, took his place in the Senate, in the theatre, in the public assembly, on the bench of judges. At funerals he pronounced the oration that was delivered in honor of the dead; and even at the bar appeared in behalf of his clients⁴. The females of his house preserved the virtue of notable house-wives, and fabricated with their own hands, the stuffs which he wore in his dress.

³ We may read in the journal of a voyage made by Horace, in company with Mæcenas, that much retinue, or equipage did not accompany great power as they do in modern times. Vid. Sat. lib. i. Sat. 5.

⁴ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 4.

In respect to manners, and appearance of state, the Emperor, with his family, was not raised above the condition of citizens; but he had full compensation in the extent and arbitrary effects of his power. While he retained the appearances of an equal, he took care to be master; and, with no higher pretensions than those of a citizen, was more than a king. While he suffered the Senate and People to retain the ancient names and titles of sovereignty, he withheld from them the substance of any privilege whatever. He personated the simple Senator and the citizen with all the terrors of military power in his hands, and preserved the force of a tyrant, because he could not assume the precedence and authority of a legal monarch.

If in this account of the sovereign's person and state our expectations of grandeur are not fulfilled, his dominions will surpass the highest and most enlarged conception we can form of their greatness. The Roman empire contained within itself, and in a very entire and populous condition, what had been the seat or territory of many famous republics and extensive empires, or what has since, in modern times, upon the revival of nations, furnished their possessions to no less considerable states and great monarchies. As it had swallowed up the states of Italy and Greece, Macedonia, the Lesser Asia, Syria, Egypt, Carthage, Numidia, Spain, and Gaul to the Rhine and the Danube; so there have sprung from its ruins many states now formed within the Alps, the kingdoms of Portugal, Spain, and France, with all the divisions of the Ottoman

68 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK VI. empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa. These are its fragments, or shreds of the vast territory of which it was composed.

This empire seemed to comprehend, within itself, all the most favorable parts of the earth; at least, those parts on which the human species, whether by the effects of climate, or the qualities of the race, have, in respect to ingenuity and courage, possessed a distinguished superiority. It extended to a variety of climates, and contained lands diversified in respect to situation and soil, distributing the productions of nature and art, so as to render its different divisions mutually useful and subservient to each other. The communication between these parts, though remote, was easy, and by sea which, with the species of shipping then in use, and with the measure of skill which the mariner then possessed, could be easily navigated.

The Mediterranean being received into the bosom of this empire, gave to the whole a greater extent of coast, and to the inland parts an easier access to navigation, than could be obtained by any different distribution of its land and water. In consequence of this circumstance, the coasts of the Roman empire, without measuring minutely round the indentures of creeks and promontories, and even without including the outline of some considerable as well as many smaller islands, may be computed at thirteen thousand miles; an extent which if stretched into a single line, would exceed half the circumference of the earth. Over this extensive coast, the empire was furnished with numerous sea-ports, and the

frequent openings of gulphs and navigable rivers; so that, notwithstanding the great extent of its territory, the distance of any inland place, the most remote from the sea, does not appear to exceed two hundred miles.

C H A P.

II.

In forming this mighty dominion, the republic had united, under its territories, all the principal seats of industry then known in the western world, had come into possession of all the sea-ports the most famous for shipping, and for the residence of merchants, who had conducted the carrying-trade of the world. Its subjects were possessed of all the profitable arts, and having all the means and instruments of trade, might be expected to reap all the fruits of commerce. But, in making these acquisitions, the capital of the empire had been a place of arms, and a mere nursery of statesmen and warriors, more occupied with the ideas of spoil and further conquest, than with the attentions necessary to promote the industry or the prosperity of the nations subjected to its power. And it is probable that the Romans, in reducing so many separate nations to the condition of provinces, greatly impaired the sources of wealth, at the same time that they suppressed the pretensions to independence and national freedom.

It might be hoped, that the peace now given to the empire, and the protection which every province was to receive against the avarice and rapacity of subordinate oppressors, would revive the pursuit of lucrative arts, and encourage the Roman traders to settle where the natives were not in capacity to

BOOK
VI.

pursue the advantages of their situation. But even these circumstances, without the aid of a happier government than that which was now established, were not sufficient to repair the damage formerly sustained by the provinces in their reduction and subsequent oppression. So that although Carthage, with all its dependencies, Egypt, Syria, the Lesser Asia, and Greece, with all the trading establishments of Spain and Gaul, were united under one head, we are not to suppose, that the wealth of the empire ever equalled the sum of what might have been raised from the separate and independent states of which it was composed.

The commercial policy of Rome was limited, in a great measure, to the supply of Italy, and to the conveyance of what the provinces yielded to the treasury of the empire. Both these objects were intrusted to mercantile companies, who farmed the revenue, and who made commerce subservient to the business of their own remittances and exclusive trade.

It were, no doubt, matter of curiosity to know the whole amount of a revenue collected from so rich and so extensive a territory; but we are deprived of this satisfaction by the silence of historians, or by the loss of records in which this subject was stated. Vespasian was heard to say, That a sum, supposed equal to about three hundred and thirty millions sterling, was required annually to support the imperial establishment^s. This Emperor, however,

^s Sueton. in Vespas. c. 16.

being rapacious or severe in his exactions, might be supposed to exaggerate the necessities of the State; but as this sum is beyond the bounds of credibility, and must lead us to suspect a mistake in the numbers, it will not enable us to form any probable conjecture of the truth.

Under the republic, both the treasury of the State, and the fortunes of individuals, were supplied, in a great measure, by the spoils of vanquished enemies, brought to the capital with great ostentation by every victorious general. To this source of revenue we may join the presents that were made by foreign princes and states, together with the military contributions that were exacted from the provinces.

Julius Cæsar brought, at once, into the treasury sixty-five thousand talents, or above twelve millions and a half sterling. As the lustre of a triumph depended very much on the sums that were carried in procession, and placed in the Capitol, Roman officers were more faithful stewards of the plunder taken from their enemies, than they were probably of any other public trust.

It had been, for some time, the practice of the Romans to lay every burden on the conquered provinces, and to exempt themselves. This policy is dated from the conquest of Macedonia, the spoils of which kingdom being joined to their former acquisitions, put them in condition to effectuate this exemption. It was however, but of short duration. The practice of taxing citizens was resumed in time of the civil wars, and the privilege, or rather the

BOOK VI. mere designation of Romans, being extended to the inhabitants of many parts of the empire, all the burdens that were borne by any subjects were, at the same time, brought home into Italy, and all the former distinctions gradually removed.

Under the establishment now made by Augustus conquests were discontinued, or became less frequent; and the returns made to the treasury, from the spoil of enemies, failed in proportion; but the avidity of receiving presents, the worst form under which extortion can be exercised, was still indulged, and, as in every other despotical government, became a considerable engine of oppression^e.

The republic, for the most part, in the latter periods of her conquests, entered on the possession of territories without any capitulation, and considered not only the sovereignty, but the property likewise of the land and of its inhabitants, as devolving upon themselves. They, in some instances, seized on the persons as well as the effects of the vanquished, and set both to sale. They leased the lands at considerable quit-rents, or leaving them in the hands of the original proprietors, exacted, under the appellation of tithes, or fifths of corn, fruit, and cattle, a proportion of the produce. By diversifying the tax, the burden was made to fall upon different

^e There being no rule by which to limit the extent of a present, the person who receives it, allowing the giver to proceed as far as his means, or his desire to pay court will carry him, still resents any imaginary defect, and employs terror and force to extort what he affects to receive as a gift.

subjects, or was exacted from different persons, and by these means the whole amount was less easily computed, or less sensibly felt. The Romans, in continuing the taxes which they found already established in the countries they had conquered, or by imposing such new ones as suited their own character as conquerors, set examples of every species almost that is known in the history of mankind. They levied customs at sea-ports, excises on many articles of consumption, and a considerable capitation or poll-tax, in which they made no distinction of rank or fortune. These modes of taxation, already known under the republic, and various in different provinces, now began to be regulated upon the maxims of a general policy extending over the whole empire.

Some of the burdens laid by Octavius, as that which was imposed on the value of goods exposed to sale, were charged directly for the benefit of the army as a fund for the discharge of their pay, or an immediate supply for their subsistence or clothing; and by this sort of impropriation were unalterably fixed. The country, where any troops were quartered, was charged for their use, with supplies of straw, forage, carriages, corn, bread, provisions, and even clothing.

From such particulars we may form some conception of the mode and tendency of Roman taxation, although we have no certain accounts, or even probable conjecture, of the amount of the whole. Under the present or preceding state of the Roman government, there was no principle ope-

74 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

CHAP. VI. rating in behalf of the subject, besides the spontaneous humanity or justice of those who exercised the sovereignty; and as the provinces under the republic had been ill-protected against the rapacity of Proconsuls and Proprætors, they were now considered, together with the republic itself, as the property of a master; and the examples of taxation, that were set by either, may instruct a sovereign how to profit by the wealth of his subjects, rather than admonish a free people how to constitute a revenue, with the least inconvenience to themselves, or the least possible injury to the sources of wealth.

The situation of Italy, and the distribution of land and water in its neighbourhood, had made navigation familiar to the Romans in the earliest ages of the republic. A considerable part of their force, in many of their wars, consisted in shipping. The battle of Actium, which decided the fate of the empire, was fought at sea; and although the Romans, at this date, had subdued every nation within reach of their seas, and had no enemy to fear on that element; yet the transport of armies, the safety of their navigation, and the suppression of piracies, by which the supply of corn, and the conveyance of the public revenue from the provinces, were often interrupted, made a naval force, and a proper distribution of guard-ships, necessary to the peace and government of the empire.

Three capital fleets were accordingly stationed by Augustus for the security of the coasts; one at Ravenna, near the bottom of the Hadriatic Gulph;

one at Forum Julii, on the opposite side of the peninsula; and a third at Misenum, the principal promontory or head-land of Campania. Besides these, there were numbers of armed vessels destined to ply in all the gulphs and navigable rivers throughout the empire.

The ordinary military establishment consisted of about five-and-forty legions, besides cavalry and city and provincial troops. The whole, reckoning each legion, with its attendants and officers, at six thousand men, and making a reasonable allowance for cavalry, may have amounted to three hundred thousand. Of the manner in which this army was distributed, the following particulars only are mentioned: on the Rhine, there were stationed eight legions; on the Danube, two; on the frontiers of Syria, four; in Spain, three; in Africa, in Egypt, in Mysia, and Dalmatia, each two legions; in the city were nine, or, according to others, ten cohorts, in the capacity of guards, or Prætorian bands, to attend the person of the Emperor; and, together with these, three cohorts of a thousand men each, intended as a city watch, to be employed in preserving the peace, in extinguishing fires, and in suppressing any other occasional disorder⁷.

For the farther security of the empire, considerable territories on the frontier, which might have been easily occupied by the Roman arms, were suffered to remain in the possession of allies, dependant princes, or free cities and republican states,

⁷ Tacitus, lib. i.

76 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK
VI.

who, owing their safety to the support of the Roman power, formed a kind of barrier against its enemies, were vigilant to observe, and ready to oppose every attempt of invasion, and were prepared to co-operate with the Roman armies, and to support them with stores and provisions as oft as they had occasion to act in their neighbourhood. The republic had ever cultivated such alliances with powers that were contiguous to the place of their operations; and frequently, after having made the defence of their ally the pretence of a war, and after having availed themselves of his assistance, they, upon occasion of some breach or quarrel, joined the ally himself to the conquest which he had assisted them to make. The same policy which had been useful in acquiring the dominion of so great an empire, was still employed for its safety. In pursuance of this policy, the kings of Mauritania, of the Bosphorus, of the Lesser and Greater Armenia, of Cappadocia, Commagené, Galatia and Pamphilia, with Paphlagonia, Colchis and Judæa, together with the republican states of Rhodes, Cyrené, Pisidia and Lycia, acted under the denomination of allies, as advanced parties on the frontiers of the empire, and encouraged by the prospect of a powerful support, were ready to withstand every enemy by whom their own peace, or that of the Romans, was likely to be disturbed.

C H A P. III.

The Family and Court of Augustus. — His pretended Resignation of the Empire renewed. — The exercise of his Power becomes less disguised. — Death of Agrippa.

IN the Roman empire, thus subjected to a monarch, though planted with races of men the most famed for activity and vigor, it has been observed, that the materials of history became less frequent and less interesting than they had been in the times of the republic, while confined to much narrower bounds. Under the dominion of a single person, all the interesting exertions of the national, the political, and the military spirit over great part of the earth, were suppressed. Even in the capital of the world, so lately agitated with every difference of opinion or interfering of interests, the operations of government itself were become silent and secret. Matters of public concern, considered as the affairs of an individual, were adjusted to his conveniency, and directed by his passions, or by those of his family, relations or domestics. The list of such persons accordingly, with their characters, dispositions, and fortunes, make a principal part in the subsequent history of this mighty empire.

C H A P.
III.

78 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK VI.

Augustus still continued to employ Mæcenas and Agrippa as the chief instruments of his government. To their abilities and conduct, in their respective departments, he in a great measure owed the prosperous state of his affairs. He likewise persevered in his attachment to Livia, whose separation from her former husband has been already mentioned. Together with the mother; he received into his family her two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. Of these Tiberius, born in the year of the battle of Philippi, was now about twelve years old; Drusus, of whom she was pregnant at the time of her marriage with Octavius, and whom she brought forth about three months afterwards, was now about seven years old.

The Emperor having no children by Livia, had offspring only a daughter, famous by the name of Julia, born to him by Scribonia, the relation of Sextus Pompeius, with whom he had contracted a marriage of political conveniency, and of short duration. Next to this daughter, in point of consanguinity, were his sister Octavia, the widow, first of Marcellus, and afterwards of Antony, with her children by both her husbands. Among these were, by her first husband, Marcella, married to Agrippa, and the young Marcellus¹, who being married to the Emperor's daughter Julia, was looked upon as

¹ In relation to this young man, Virgil, in flattering Augustus, has composed so many beautiful lines in the 6th book of the Eneid.

— Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris, &c.

the undoubted representative of the Octavian and Julian families, and heir to the fortunes of Cæsar. C H A P.
III.

Such then are the persons to whom many parts in the immediate sequel of this narration will principally refer; and such are the outset and first considerable lines of a very long reign, of which the materials will not furnish, nor the professed intention of this History require, a long or minute detail.

The establishment now made by Augustus has nearly completed the revolution of which it was proposed to give an account. The despotism, though exercised under the name of republic, and in the form of a temporary and legal institution, being in reality absolute, and without any qualification of mixed government, it could not be doubted that the same powers would be continued after the period for which they were now granted should expire, and that the empire, for the future, must for ever submit to the head of the army: but in what form of succession, or with what immediate effect on the character and condition of those who were subject to it, remain to be collected from the sequel of this and a few of the following reigns. Military government is almost a necessary result of the abuse of liberty, or, in certain extremities of this evil, appears to be the sole remedy that can be applied². But, in order to know with how much care the evil itself ought to be avoided, we must attend likewise to the full effects of the cure.

² Non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur. Tacit. lib. i. c. 9.

BOOK
VI.

It appears from the particulars which have been stated, relating to the first uses which Octavius made of his power, that he was not to be caught in the snare into which many others have fallen in consequence of great success. In his prosperity he still retained his vigilance, his caution, and his industry, and relied upon these alone for the preservation of what he had gained. Though now secured by the pretended forms of a legal establishment, he continued attentive to what was passing in every part of the empire, frequently withdrew from the seats of adulation and pleasure in the city of Rome to visit the provinces; and, without any view to conquest, or purpose of ostentation whatever, gave his presence where any affairs of moment were in dependance, merely to extend the effects of his government, and to realize the dominion he had planned.

The peace which immediately followed the victories obtained on the coast of Epirus and Egypt, was the circumstance on which Augustus chiefly relied for the recommendation of his government, and he seems, from inclination as well as policy, to have early entertained a maxim favorable to peace with foreign nations, and which he afterwards openly inculcated, *that the bounds of the empire should not be extended*. He himself had made some acquisitions in Dalmatia and in Pannonia. But his object, in making war in those countries, had been, rather to exercise and prepare his army for the contest he expected with Antony, than for any purpose of extending his conquests; and he reduced Egypt to a province, merely to extirpate the last remains of his
rival's

rival's party, and to prevent further molestation from that rich and powerful kingdom. In his first plan of operations communicated to the Senate, he expressed his disposition to acquiesce in the present extent of the empire; but it was necessary to secure the frontier from invasions, and to ascertain, though not to extend, its bounds. Soon after his new model of government was established, he took measures accordingly to repress the disorder which subsisted in some of the provinces, and to reduce to obedience some cantons on which the State had already a claim of sovereignty, though not fully acknowledged. He proceeded to punish others, who, at the breaking out of the civil wars, had taken advantage of the general distraction of the empire to resume their independency, or to make war on the Roman settlements. He had examples of both sorts to contend with in different parts; in Thrace, on the Rhine, and among the Alps, but chiefly in Spain.

Of all the provinces that became subject to Rome, those of Spain had been the most difficult acquisition; insomuch that, after all the wars so frequently renewed in that country, there were still some warlike cantons who continued to maintain their independence. Among these the Astures and Cantabri³ being in actual rebellion, the Emperor himself, at the head of a powerful army, still pretending a design to invade Britain, passed into Gaul, and

³ Nations inhabiting the mountainous coasts of the Bay of Biscay.

BOOK
VI.

U. C. 727.
Imper. Cæsar
8vo. T. Stati-
lius Taurus.
August. 2do,
Ætat. 36.

U. C. 728.
Imperator Cæ-
sar 9no. M.
Junius Silenus.
August. 3tio.
Ætat. 37.

there having fixed a rate of taxation for the province, turned into Spain. He obliged the rebels, upon his approach, to quit their usual habitations, and retire to the mountains. But finding that they were likely to protract the war, and to engage him in a succession of tedious and indecisive operations, he fixed his quarters at Tarraco*, and left the command of the army employed on this service to C. Antistius and Carisius. Soon after his arrival at Tarraco he entered on his eighth Consulate. From that place he sent Terentius Varro to quell a rebellion of the Salassi and the other nations of the Alps, and sent M. Vincius to punish some German tribes, by whom the Roman traders frequenting their country, or settled among them, had been massacred. He himself, while his generals were employed in these services, remained two years at his quarters in Spain; and upon the elapse of his eighth Consultate resumed that office for the ninth time.

During the residence of Augustus in Spain, arrived the famous reference or appeal from the Parthians, submitting to his decision a contest for the throne of their kingdom†. The competitors were Phraates and Tiridates. The first having been in possession, was expelled by a powerful insurrection of the people in favor of his rival: but, after a little time, having assembled his forces and his allies,

* Tarragona.

† Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 22 & 25. Orosius, lib. vi. c. 21. Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxiv. Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 33. Vell. Pat.

he attacked Tiridates, obliged him to fly in his turn, and to take refuge in the contiguous province of the Roman empire. This exile, having the son of his rival a prisoner, proceeded to Rome, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor in Spain. At the same time arrived an embassy from Phraates, then in actual possession of the throne, desiring that Tiridates should be delivered up to him, and that his son should be restored. Both parties offered honorable terms to the Romans, particularly the restoration of all the captives, and of all the trophies taken either from Crassus or from Antony, in their unfortunate invasions of that kingdom.

Augustus willingly accepted of these terms; but affecting to refer the Parthian dispute to the Roman Senate, gave instructions that the son of Phraates should be restored to his father, but that Tiridates should not be delivered up to his enemy⁶.

By this transaction, though a pacific one, the disgrace incurred by the Roman legions in Parthia was supposed to be entirely effaced. And it being said that Augustus, on this occasion, had performed, by the authority of his name, what other Roman leaders had attempted in vain by force of arms, he had a variety of honors decreed to him by the Senate. It passed, among other resolutions, that his name should be inscribed among those of the gods in the address of the public hymns; that one of the Roman tribes should be named the Julian Tribe, in honor

⁶ Justin, lib. xlii. c. 5. Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 33. Velleius Pater. lib. ii. c. 91.

BOOK
VI.

of him ; that he should wear the triumphal crown at all public entertainments ; that all Roman Senators , who had been present at any of his victories, should attend his triumphs dressed in purple robes ; that the anniversary of his return to Rome should be observed as a festival ; that he should have the nomination of persons to be honored with the priesthood , and should fill up the list to any numbers he thought proper. From this time forward, accordingly , the number was supposed to be unlimited.

Soon after the conclusion of this negociation with the Parthians , the operations of the armies in Spain and Germany were brought to a successful period, Caius Antistius being attacked by the Cantabri , obtained a complete victory , and obliged that people again to take separate retreats in the woods and mountains , where numbers of them were reduced by famine , and others, being invested in their strong holds , and in danger of being taken , chose to perish by their own hands.

Carisius was equally successful against the Asturi ; obliged them to abandon their habitations , or to submit at discretion ⁷.

Terentius Varro , having invaded the Salassi , or Piedmontese , on different quarters , made them agree to pay a contribution , and , under pretence of levying it, sent an army in separate divisions into their country ; and thus having them at his mercy , exercised a cruelty of which too many examples are

⁷ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 25.

to be found in every period of ancient history. He ordered, that all the children and youth of the nation, thus taken by surprise, should be put up for sale; the buyer being required to come under engagements, that none of this unhappy people, thus sold for slaves, should be restored to freedom, or allowed to return to their own country, till after an interval of twenty years⁸.

About the same time Augustus received from the army the title of Imperator, and from the Senate the offer of a triumph, on account of the victories gained by his lieutenants. The last of these honors he declined; but took occasion to exhibit games in Spain, in name of his nephew Marcellus and of his step-son Tiberius, whom he wished to recommend to the army by this act of munificence. He likewise distributed lands, both in Spain and in the Cisalpine Gaul, to the soldiers who were discharged from the legions, and on this occasion built the Augusta Emeritorum⁹ in Spain, and the Augusta Prætoria¹⁰ on the descent of the Alps towards Italy. In conformity with his general plan of dividing the provinces, he separated Spain into three governments, the Bœtica, Lusitanica, and Taronensis. The first was included under the department of the Senate, the other two had been reserved to himself.

⁸ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 25.

⁹ Now Merida.

¹⁰ Now Aosta.

B O O K

VI.

Gaul was, at the same time, divided into four separate governments; the Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Celtica or Belgica. Upon this increase of the number of provinces, additional officers, particularly in the capacity of Quæstors, became necessary. All who had, for ten years preceding the date of these arrangements, held the office of Quæstor in the city, without succeeding to any foreign employment, were now ordered to cast lots for the vacant stations.

The general peace being again restored, by the successful operations of the army in different quarters of the empire, the gates of Janus once more were shut, and a column was erected on a summit of the Alps, bearing an inscription, with the names of forty-eight separate nations or cantons, who were now reduced to obedience under the auspices of Augustus¹¹.

U. C. 729.

Imper. Cæsar
10mo C. Nor-
banus Flaccus.
August. 4to,
ætat. 38.

The Emperor being on his return to Rome, and having accepted of a tenth Consulship, the ceremony of his admission into office was performed before his arrival on the first of January, with a renewal of the oaths formerly taken by the People, that they would observe his decrees. The Senate, at the same time, being informed that he intended to make a donation to the People, amounting to a hundred denarii for each person; but that, from respect to the laws which gave them a negative on such donations, he meant to defer the publication of his intention until he had their consent; they

¹¹ Plin. lib. xix c. i.

immediately passed a decree, giving him full exemption from every law or form of the commonwealth, and empowering him ¹² to govern in all matters according to his own will. This decree, of which the effect was not so much to vest him with any new powers, as to remove the veil from that power of which he was already possessed, it is probable, from his caution in other matters, he would have gladly avoided. At his return, after so long an absence, he was received by all orders of men with every demonstration of joy. Having already been flattered in his own person with every mark of distinction and honor, he was now courted in the person of his favorite nephew Marcellus. This young man was admitted, by a formal decree, to a place in the Senate among the members of Prætorian rank, and was allowed to sue for the Consulate ten years before the legal age. Livia too had a share in these flatteries, by a like privilege bestowed on her son Tiberius, though, in order to retain some distinction between the favorite nephew and the step-son of the Emperor, the decree in favor of Tiberius only bore that he might sue for the Consulate five years before the legal age.

In the mean time Marcellus held the office of Ædile, and Tiberius that of Quæstor. The first, to signalize his magistracy, ordered that that part of the forum or space in which the courts of justice were held, which till then had been always unco-

¹² Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 28.

BOOK
VI.

vered and exposed to the open air, should be shaded with a covering or awning of cloth ¹³.

During the absence of the Emperor, the plans which had been formed for the better government of the city, for adorning it with public buildings, and for repairing the highways throughout Italy, were carried into execution by Agrippa. The repair of the highways had been assigned, in separate lots, to such of the Senators as were supposed able to defray the expense of it; and, among these, the Flaminian Way had been assigned to Augustus himself. The town was divided into quarters or districts, under proper officers, annually chosen or taken by lot; and a watch was established, to prevent disorders, and to guard against fire.

The channel of the river, in a great measure, choked up with heaps of rubbish from the ruins of houses, that formed considerable banks and islands in the midst of it, and, at every flood, forced great inundations into the streets, was now effectually cleared ¹⁴. The Septa Julia, or place of assembly, called the Julian Place, in honor of the Emperor, was repaired, adorned, and dedicated. A temple was erected to Neptune, in memory of the late naval victories. The portico of the Pantheon was finished about this time; within was placed, among the images of the gods, a statue of Julius

¹³ Quantum mutatis moribus Catonis censoris qui sternendum quoque forum muricibus censuerat. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. c. 20.

¹⁴ Sueton. in August. c. 29, 30.

Cæsar; in the vestibule, or portico, were placed those of Augustus and Agrippa¹⁵. CHAP.
III.

The Emperor, upon his approach to the city, published, by virtue of the power lately conferred upon him by the Senate, his intention to distribute to the citizens a hundred denarii a man. In this it appears that the Roman People had still retained the worst and most corrupting part of their republican privileges, that of receiving gratuities in money and corn, as well as that of being frequently amused with expensive shows. By the first they were supported in idleness, and by the other taught dissipation, and made to forget the state of political degradation into which they were fallen. At the games exhibited in the preceding year by the Prætor Servilius, it is said, that three hundred bears, and an equal number of African wild beasts, were baited or hunted down¹⁶.

The restoration of peace being a principal point on which Augustus valued himself with the Public, the gates of Janus, in a few of the first years of his reign, had been already three times repeatedly shut¹⁷. But on a frontier so extensive, beset on the one hand by fierce nations, jealous of their liberties, and on the other, by armies, whose commanders were fond of opportunities to distinguish themselves, it was not possible long to avoid every species of war. Soon after the Emperor had withdrawn from Spain, leaving the command in Lusitania

¹⁵ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 22. &c. &c.

¹⁶ Ibid. c. 27.

¹⁷ Sueton. in August. c. 22.

BOOK
VI.

tania to L. Æmilius, the Cantabri and Astures, still impatient of the dominion to which they had lately, in appearance, made a perpetual submission, took a resolution again to shake off the Roman yoke. Proposing to give the first intimation of their design by a stroke of importance, they drew a considerable part of the Roman army into their country, under pretence of furnishing them with a supply of corn; and when they found them dispersed in small parties to receive the proposed distribution, they put the whole, or the greater part, to the sword. In revenge for this piece of treachery, Æmilius laid their country under military execution, and by a barbarous policy, to prevent future revolts, cut off the right hands of the prisoners whose lives he spared¹⁸.

At the same time Augustus himself, though somewhat contrary to the general system of his reign, entertained a project of extending the Roman settlements, or at least of making discoveries on the side of Arabia, and on the coasts of the Indian seas. He was tempted, probably, by the prospect of getting access to the rare and costly commodities, which the Arabians were known to receive from India¹⁹, and which they sold in the markets of Egypt and Asia at their own price. He expected to refund the expence of his armament from the great

¹⁸ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 29.

¹⁹ Strabo mentions, that in the port of Nus there were above 100 ships from India.

treasures of gold and silver which the Arabians were supposed to possess. C H A P.
III.

For this purpose Ælius Gallus, the Proprætor of Egypt, was intrusted with the conduct of an expedition to the Gulph of Arabia. This officer spent a considerable time in fitting out a fleet of armed ships, which he afterwards found to be unnecessary, as the Arabians were mere traders, and had no ships of force. In passing the gulph with one hundred and thirty transports, he, by the unskilfulness of his mariners and pilots, sustained a great loss both in shipping and men, and in the delays which he afterwards incurred, or in attempting to penetrate the deserts of Arabia eastward, he lost a great part of his army, which perished by want of water, or by disease. And thus, after a fruitless attempt, in which he spent many months, returned to Alexandria with a small part of his army, without having gained any considerable advantage, or even obtained information of the sources of wealth which he was sent to explore ²⁰.

While these transactions passed in the provinces and on the frontier of the empire, Augustus, then residing at Rome, entered on his eleventh Consul-
late. His colleague, in the beginning of the year, was Terentius Varro Murena. But this Consul died in office, and was succeeded for the remainder of the year by C. Calpurnius Piso.

U. C. 730.
Imper. Cæsar
11mo. Tribu-
nus plebis.
Terentius Var-
ro Murena
mort. C. Cal-
purnius Piso.
August. 5to,
ætat. 39.

Augustus himself, in this Consulate, was taken

²⁰ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 29. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 33.
Plin. lib. vi. c. 28. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 118. & l. xvi.
p. 782.

BOOK
VI.

ill; and being supposed in danger, called his colleague, with a number of the principal Senators, into his presence, to receive his last instructions relating to the empire. The title by which he affected to hold the government could not support him in pointing out a succession. He accordingly made no mention of any successor to himself, but delivered to the Consul Piso, as being first officer of State, the memorials he had drawn up relating to the revenue and other public establishments. He gave to Agrippa his ring, which was the badge of his nobility, and which, according to the ideas of the Romans, had an emblematical reference to his power. He seemed to overlook his nephew Marcellus, though at this time the first in his favor, and probably destined to inherit his fortune. This circumstance, together with the general opinion of his dissimulation, made it be suspected that he had no real apprehensions of dying, and that he called his friends to this solemn audience, merely to show, on a supposed death-bed, his respect for the commonwealth. To elude the penetration of those who suspected his arts, and whom he still continued to dread, after his recovery, he desired that the will which he had made on this occasion should be publicly read; but the Senate, already knowing the contents, and affecting to believe, without this evidence, the sincerity of his intentions to restore the republic, refused to comply. They appointed great rejoicings on account of his recovery, and amply distinguished and rewarded the physician,

to whose skill it was supposed that they owed the preservation of so valuable a life ²¹.

Although the circumstance of Augustus not having mentioned his nephew Marcellus, and the honor he had done to Agrippa, were probably not the effects of any serious design respecting the succession, they nevertheless became a subject of jealousy in the mind of the young man, and soon after occasioned the retirement of Agrippa from the court. This officer, under pretence of going into Syria, where he was appointed to command, set out from Rome, but stopped at Mitilené in the island of Lesbos, where he lived in retirement, without taking any part in public affairs.

During the stay of Agrippa at Mitilené, and in less than a year after his departure from Rome, happened the death of Marcellus; an event which Livia was, by some, alledged to have hastened, in order to make way for the advancement of her own sons; but the sickness of the season and the mortality at Rome, during the two preceding years, might have accounted for the death of Marcellus, without any supposition of unnatural means ²²; and the event itself brought no immediate advantage to the sons of Livia. It was followed by the recall of Agrippa, and by a new arrangement, which removed the Claudii still farther from the place to which the mother was desirous to raise them in the consideration and favor of the Emperor.

²¹ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 31.

²² Ibid. c. 32, 33.

BOOK
VI.

Augustus had now, for some years, without intermission, assumed and exercised the office of Consul; but thinking its authority no longer necessary to support his power, he divested himself of the title, and gave a fresh proof of his moderation, by substituting in his place L. Sestius, one of the few who were still supposed to regret the fall of the republic. Sestius had been the friend of Marcus Brutus, adhered to the cause of the commonwealth in every period of the civil wars, and, though spared by the victors at Philippi, still ventured to retain the statue and picture of his friend.

The magnanimity of Augustus, in getting over these objections to the character of Sestius, was not neglected by the flatterers of his court; nor was his declining the Consulship overlooked by the Senate, in their zeal to devise new honors and additional concessions. The character of Tribune, which had been annually conferred on the Emperor for some years, was, on the present occasion, rendered perpetual in his person, and the privilege of proposing matters for the consideration of the Senate, hitherto appropriated to the Consuls in office, was now likewise extended to him. As a compensation for the dignity of Consul, which he now declined, he was declared perpetual Proconsul, both at Rome and in the provinces, and empowered to supersede every officer, even in his own government²¹. He was, at the same time, pressed to accept the title and power of Dictator.

²¹ Dio Cass. lib. liii. 5. 32.

The People, laboring under a plague or epidemic distemper, which, in the usual mode of their superstition, they considered as a punishment inflicted by the gods for some public offence, and in particular for their having suffered the Emperor to divest himself of the Consulate, proposed that he should instantly assume this or a higher dignity. While the Senate was assembled, multitudes crowded together in a riotous manner, and with threats required that a decree should pass to vest Augustus with the style and powers of Dictator. They collected twenty-four Fasces, the number usually carried before this officer, and repairing to the Emperor's palace, called upon him to assume his power, and to rescue the People from their present calamities.

C H A P.

III.

U. C. 731.

M. Claudius
Marcellus

Afernius,

L. Aruntius,

August. 6to,
ætat. 40.

Augustus, who had sufficiently provided for all the objects of his ambition, without the alarming name of Dictator, took this opportunity to establish his character for moderation. He entreated the People to desist from their purpose; and when still pressed, he appeared to be greatly agitated, tore his clothes²⁴, and gave other signs of extreme distress. Being likewise pressed to accept of the office of perpetual Censor, he, in the same manner, declined it, recommending for the immediate discharge of its duties, P. Æmilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus.

In acting this part, it is probable that Octavius guarded against the fate of Julius Cæsar; that he

²⁴ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. i.

BOOK
VI.

preferred security to the ostentation of power, and relied more on the caution with which he avoided offence, than he did on the vigilance of his informers and spies, or on the terror of his arms. He could not, however, at all times, avoid having recourse to these means of defence. During his present residence at Rome, he received information of a design formed on his life by Muræna and Fannius Cæpio, and brought them to trial. Velleius Paterculus, without any scruple affirms the guilt of these supposed conspirators; but Dio Cassius insinuates, that the guilt of Muræna, at least, was rather indiscretion, and an unguarded freedom of speech, with which he was accustomed to censure the conduct of his superiors, than any formed design of so criminal a nature.

Muræna was the brother-in-law of Mæcenas, and himself appeared to be in favor of Augustus. Upon the surmise of an intention to seize him, together with Fannius, both absconded and fled. They were arraigned and tried in absence; but as the judges still enjoyed the privilege of voting by secret ballot, they availed themselves of it to acquit the accused.

The use of the secret ballot in criminal trials, when first introduced in the republic, as it diminished the power of the aristocracy, which was so necessary for the preservation of public order, no doubt had a tendency unfavorable to public justice. But now, when it might have been salutary, at least in all State-Trials, it was, under pretence of the false judgment given in the case of Muræna and Cæpio,
so

so far abolished, that all persons who fled from trial, or who declined appearance, were, by an express statute, deprived of the benefit of it²⁵; and this circumstance deserves to be mentioned as the first instance, perhaps, in which the judicial forms of the republic, formerly partial to the interests of the People, began to be changed in favor of despotism. This innovation was probably the more fatal in the sequel, that the Emperor himself, under pretence of giving evidence, of urging prosecutions, or of appearing as an advocate for his clients, frequently attended the courts²⁶. And it cannot be doubted, that as often as he appeared²⁷, the part

²⁵ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 3.

²⁶ Ibid. Sueton. in August. c. 56.

²⁷ Among the remarkable trials of this period is mentioned that of M. Primus, who having the command in Macedonia, was accused of having, without orders, made war on the Odrysians, a Thracian nation. He pleaded the orders of Augustus or of Marcellus; but the Emperor himself attending the trial, denied his having ever given such orders, and the defendant was condemned. He is said, at another time, to have appeared in behalf of his confidants Apuleius and Mæcenæ, who were arraigned of some undue influence in protecting a person under prosecution for adultery. After the prosecutor began to open the charge, Augustus himself came into court, and commanded him not to traduce his relations and friends; a stretch of power which, under legal government, ought to have given offence; but in the present state of the Romans, only put the subject in mind, how necessary it was for himself to court the imperial favor; and it was decreed accordingly, by the unanimous votes of all

98 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK

VI.

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which he took, whether as a witness or as a pleader, must have had very great and improper influence in the cause.

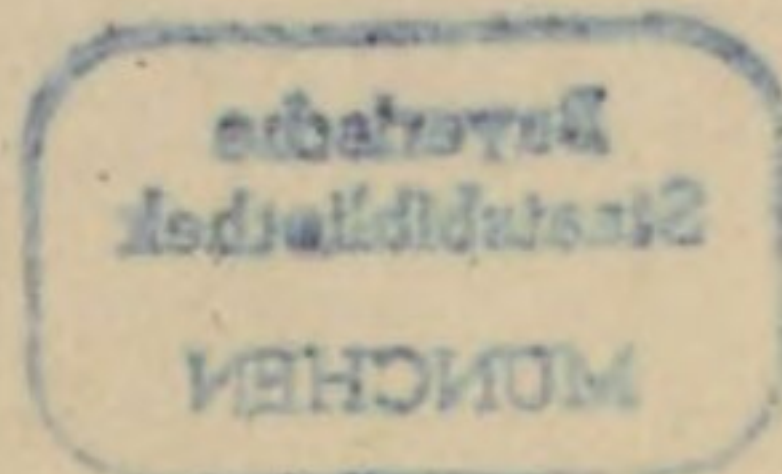
In the beginning of this reign, are dated some regulations calculated for the peace and general order of the city. Among these, it is mentioned, that the number of Prætors was reduced to ten; and that two of this number were appointed to inspect the public revenue²⁸; that some feasts, which had been customary, were prohibited, and the expense of others restrained within moderate bounds; that the care of the public shows was intrusted to the Prætors, with a competent allowance from the treasury to defray the expense of them, but under an express prohibition to add, as they had been hitherto inclined to do, from ambitious motives, above an equal sum from their own private estates. The shows of gladiators were subjected to the controul of the Senate, and the number of pairs to be exhibited, on any particular occasion, restricted to sixty. The care of extinguishing and guarding against fire being in the department of the Ædiles, a body of six hundred men, destined to this service, was put under the command of these magistrates. Persons of rank having given cause of complaint, by presenting themselves as dancers or performers on the public theatre, such examples were strictly prohibited.

the Senators, that in memory of this gracious interposition of the Emperor, an additional statue should be erected to him.

²⁸ Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 32.

H

IV. 10V



As the Emperor ever affected a desire to be entirely relieved of the government, he accompanied his most popular acts and regulations with a formal and ostentatious resignation of some particular parts of his power. The provinces of Narbonne and of Cyprus, which had been originally part of his trust, being in the first period of his reign restored to peace, he formally resigned them into the hands of the Senate. But while he was occupied with these pacific or popular measures, the Astures and Cantabri, notwithstanding their former distresses, still passionately fond of their expiring liberties, having revolted yet a third time, were again reduced with great slaughter. Most of those who escaped from the swords of the Roman legions, perished by their own hands²⁹. While this event, in appearance, terminated all the troubles which subsisted in the western part of the empire, an alarm was received from Egypt, of a formidable enemy appearing to intend the invasion of that kingdom. The Ethiopians, probably encouraged by the low state to which, from the unfortunate expedition of Gallus against the Arabians, they supposed the Roman forces on the Nile to have been reduced, had, by the time that the alarm had been communicated to Rome, actually entered the province; and, before any assistance could be sent from other parts of the empire, were repulsed by Petronius, who succeeded to Gallus in the government of Egypt.

But before these events were known, the Emperor had taken his resolution to attend to the defence of

²⁹ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 4.

BOOK
VI.

U. C. 732.
Q. Emilius Lepidus, M. Lollius Nepos.
August. 7mo.
Ætat. 41.

this kingdom in person, and was set out on his voyage. Having put into Sicily in his way, while he yet remained in this island, the usual election of Consuls came on at Rome³⁰. He himself was named, together with M. Lollius Nepos; but he declined accepting of the office, and affected to leave the Roman People, as of old, to a free choice. This novelty gave rise to a warm contest, in which Quintus Emilius Lepidus, and L. Silanus appeared as competitors, and were supported by numerous parties of their friends. The People began to recover the remembrance of their former power, and were encouraged or supported by the candidates in disorders or freedoms, from which they had for some time been restrained. Augustus himself was alarmed with these appearances of a reviving republic, summoned both the candidates to attend him in Sicily; and having reprimanded them for the disturbances they gave, forbade them to appear at Rome, until the depending elections were passed. The competition, nevertheless, was carried on with great warmth in their absence, and ended with much difficulty in favor of Lepidus.

This specimen of the supposed disorders to which the People were inclined, in the absence of an authority that was fit to restrain them, probably induced the Emperor to hasten the recal of Agrippa, as a person on whom he could devolve the care of the city. The breach which had been some time made in his family, by the death of Marcellus, remained unrepaired; and he seems to have hesitated

³⁰ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 5, 6.

in the choice of the person whom he was to place next to himself in power, and in succession to the government. His daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, had yet brought no addition to his offspring. She was now to be disposed of in a second marriage, and was likely to bestow on her husband the character of heir apparent to the fortunes of her father. It is said, that Mæcenas advised the Emperor to make choice of Agrippa. *This man, he said, is already too high to remain where he is; he must be lifted up to a place yet higher, or be cast to the ground* ³¹.

Agrippa was accordingly, about this time, made to part with Marcella, the niece of Augustus, to whom he had been some time married, in order that he might become the husband of Julia, and by this title the first in the family of Cæsar.

The Emperor, while in Sicily, having bestowed on the city of Syracuse, and on the other towns of that island, the privilege of Roman colonies, and having made some other arrangements for the better government of the province, continued his voyage from thence into Greece. As he passed through Sparta and Athens, he treated the inhabitants of those once eminent cities with marks of favor or displeasure, according to the part they had taken in the late divisions of the empire.

The Spartans had, with proper hospitality, received Livia in her flight from Italy, and, in return, were now honored with the presence of

³¹ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 6.

BOOK
VI.

the Emperor at one of the public meals, which they still affected to retain in memory of their ancient institutions. They likewise received a grant of the island of Cithera, which formerly had belonged to their territory.

The Athenians, on the contrary, it is said, were put in mind of their partiality to Antony with Cleopatra, and of the singular ostentation with which they admitted the Queen of Egypt a citizen of Athens. In resentment of this behaviour, they were deprived of their sovereignty in Egina and Eretria, and forbid to receive any presents in return for the freedom of their city, a distinction, which, it seems, was still earnestly courted, and from the sale of which they derived some revenue.

From these visits to Sparta and Athens, the Emperor proceeded to Samos, where he remained for the winter³². Here he not only had a confirmation of the reports already mentioned, relating to the success of Petronius against the Ethiopians, but received an embassy from this people to sue for peace. They had addressed themselves to Petronius; and being referred to the Emperor, desired that they might have guides to conduct them to him. *This Emperor, they said, or the place of his abode, we know not.* Being conducted to Samos, on the route by which he was expected to arrive in Asia, they obtained a peace, without any of the submissions or unequal conditions by which the Romans were formerly accustomed to

³² Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 7.

prepare the way, in every treaty, for the farther extension of their conquests³³.

C H A P.
III.

In the spring, Augustus passed from Samos to Bithynia, in which, though one of the provinces that had been committed to the administration of the Senate, he, by his own authority, made some reformati^ons; and upon a complaint, that the people of Cyzicum had insulted with the rod, and put to death some Roman citizens, he stript them of several privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. From thence, he continued his progress into Syria, and there likewise inflicted some severities on the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, as a punishment of their seditions and disrespect to his government³⁴.

U. C. 733.
M. Apuleius,
P. Silius Ner-
va. August.
8vo, Ætat. 42.

The Parthians had not yet restored the Roman captives, and the trophies, of which they had got possession on the defeats of Crassus and Antony. This was the condition, on which the king had obtained the release of his son. Being now reminded of it, or alarmed by the approach of the Roman Emperor to his frontier, he sent an embassy to perform this article. But of the Roman prisoners, many, soon after they were taken, perished by their own hands; others, being reconciled by degrees to their condition, and having settled, were unwilling to remove. They concealed themselves from the persons who were sent to assemble and conduct them to the frontier, and but a few were

³³ Strabo, lib. vii. p. 821.

³⁴ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 6.

B O O K
VI,

recovered. These, together with the restored standards and other trophies, were conducted with great pomp to the city of Rome.

Augustus had already received the congratulations of the Senate and People, on the conclusion of his treaty with the Parthians, and knowing how much it was become a point of honor at Rome to repair the disgrace which Roman armies had incurred on the Euphrates and the Tigris, he indulged, on the conclusion of this transaction, a degree of vanity, which was unusual with him on other occasions. He ordered the rites of thanksgiving that were appropriated to the greatest victories, gave instructions to erect a triumphal arch; and upon his return to Rome, entered the city in triumph.

The Romans, in conferring honors on those who performed any successful service, considered the advantage itself, more than the means by which it had been obtained, and indulged, with all the distinctions that military courage or personal ability could claim, every officer under whose auspices they prospered, whether by artifice or valor³⁴. On this principle, Augustus, without having performed any military operation whatever, took occasion to triumph over an enemy, before whom the armies of Antony and Crassus had perished.

The object of the Emperor's journey to the East having been obtained by the restoration of peace to Egypt, he did not proceed in his progress beyond the province of Syria. From thence, in his letters

[³⁴ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 8.

to the Senate, he disclaimed every intention or wish to extend the bounds of the empire, and disposed of kingdoms on the frontier to the princes of Asia, who were considered as confederates or allies of the Romans. Among these, he gave to Tarcondimotus a principality in Cilicia; to Archelaus, the Lesser Armenia; to Herod, over and above his own kingdom of Judæa, the principality of Zenodorus, in its neighbourhood. He restored a prince, of the name of Mithridates, to the kingdom of Comma-géné, from which his father had been expelled; and, at the request of the people of Armenia, sent his stepson Tiberius Claudius Nero, now about twenty years of age, with a commission to remove Artabazus, then in possession of that kingdom, and to declare Tiridates, who was still at Rome, to be its sovereign. This revolution in Armenia however was, by the death of Artabazus, who fell by the hands of his own subjects, in part effected before the arrival of Tiberius.

While the Emperor was thus employed in the provinces, the ordinary succession of magistrates took place at Rome, and he himself being named Consul, together with Caius Sentius, again declined the title, without recommending a substitute. Great animosities arose among the candidates for this honor. Agrippa had been called away into Gaul, upon an alarm received on the German frontier, and from thence into Spain, to quell another revolt of the Astures and Cantabri. In his absence, the Consul Sentius and the Senate, unable to repress the tumults, sent a deputation to the Emperor, who

BOOK
VI.

was still in Asia, to know his pleasure respecting the election, and, in return, had a fresh proof of his magnanimity and candor in the recommendation of Lucretius, a known partisan of the republic, and one of those, who being among the proscribed, had escaped from the massacre.

U. C. 734.
C. Sentius
Saturninus
Q. Lucretius
Vespello.
ex Kal. Julii.
M. Venucius
Vipsanius
Agrippa.
August. 9no,
Ætat. 43.

Augustus, during his stay in Syria, had accounts of the birth of a grandson Caius, the eldest of the sons of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia, and had a copy of the decree, by which the Senate annexed the anniversary of this birth to the days of public rejoicing. On his way to Italy, he passed another winter in Samos, where he received the ambassadors of many nations, and among these, an embassy from India, attended with a numerous retinue, and charged with a variety of presents ³⁶. But what probably most entertained the curious in the western world, was the exhibition of an Indian Sage or Brahmin, who having taken his resolution to die, was ambitious to make his exit in presence of the Roman court. Being indulged in this desire, and, flattered with the attendance of a numerous crowd of spectators, he prepared a funeral pile, which he set on fire, and with much ostentation and gravity threw himself into the midst of it ³⁷. His tomb was marked with the following inscription. *Here*

³⁶ Among these, are mentioned by Strabo, a snake ten cubits long, though it appears from Suetonius, p. 719. that a snake of a much greater length was exhibited in the public spectacles at Rome, fifty cubits. Sueton. in August. c. 43.

³⁷ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 8. 10, 11. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 32.

lies Tarmarus or Tarmanochegas, an Indian of Bar- CHAP.
gosa, who, in the manner of his country, ended his III.
*days by a voluntary death*³⁸. In such actions, we
 may perceive the powerful attraction of glory, from
 whatever sort of performance it be supposed to
 arise.

When the Emperor's intended return was announced at Rome, many honors were decreed to him, all of which he declined, except that of having an altar erected on the occasion to Jupiter Redux, and that of having the day of his arrival inserted, under the title Augustalia, among the festivals of the calendar. On his approach to the city, the magistrates and the people prepared to go forth in procession to meet him; but either from an aversion to pageantry, which he ever shunned, except when necessary to serve some purpose, or from a desire of procuring fresh encomiums of moderation, he made his entry in the night to avoid this compliment. On the following day, he procured resolutions of the Senate and People, promoting Tiberius, the eldest of the sons of Livia, to the rank of Prætor, and bestowing on Drusus, the younger brother, the privilege of standing for any of the ancient honors of the commonwealth five years before the legal age. He himself, at the same time, accepted the office of Censor, with a new title, that of Inspector of Manners³⁹, for five years.

This new designation was annexed to the titles

³⁸ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 720.

³⁹ Præfectus Morum.

BOOK
VI.

of Augustus, under pretence that such an authority was wanting to take cognizance of the disorders committed in the late canvass for the election of Consuls; but, as the period was near approaching at which he was to repeat the form of resigning the government, it is probable, that he chose to be vested with the character of Cenfor, in order to make the arrangements preparatory to this ceremony.

Near ten years had elapsed since the rolls of the Senate had been made up, and in this interval many reasons may have occurred for removing some of the members, and for substituting others. The powers of Cenfor, with which the Emperor was now vested, enabled him, without any unprecedented stretch of authority, to effect his purpose; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, his usual caution led him to seek for palliatives, and to devise means to lessen or to divide the odium of so disagreeable a measure. He gave out, that the number of Senators was become too great, and thus provided himself with an excuse for excluding many of them, without stating any personal objection. He at first proposed to take upon himself only the nomination of thirty members, and under a solemn oath, that he should name the most worthy. These thirty, under a like solemn oath, were directed, each, to give in a list of five, which would have made up the number to one hundred and fifty. And these, if they had been agreeable to the Emperor, would have probably made the first part of the roll. But as he was in many instances disappointed and dis-

pleased with the choice that was made, he selected only thirty of the whole, to whom he gave the same directions as before, each to name five; but being equally dissatisfied with this new nomination, he took the whole on himself; and alledging, that the officer who collected the names had made some mistakes, and that many, who were thus proposed to be members of the Senate, had necessary avocations in the provinces, he undertook, by his own authority, to reform the list. This task, however, he performed under so much apprehension of danger to his person, that, as in the former instance of the same kind, he carried armour under his clothes, and had a guard of ten chosen Senators, with concealed weapons, who had orders not to admit above one person at a time to approach him⁴⁰. By his conduct in this matter, or by the severity of his censures, he was supposed to have made so many enemies, or he himself at least took such impressions of jealousy and distrust as kept him in alarm, and occasioned some trials and executions, by which he proposed to counteract or prevent the conspiracies which were forming against him⁴¹.

Upon observing how much the Emperor was alarmed, it was moved in the Senate, as an acknowledgment of the danger to which he was exposed, that the members should take arms, and in certain numbers by turns pass the night in the palace. "I am unfortunately addicted to snore," said An-

⁴⁰ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 13, 14, 15.

⁴¹ Sueton. in August. c. 35.

BOOK

VI.

tistius Labeo, who still possessed some remains of the republican spirit, "and am afraid, that I should be an unwelcome guest in the anti-chamber of the prince"⁴².

U. C. 735.

P. Cornelius

Lentulus

Marcelli-

nus, Cn.

Cornelius

Lentulus,

Aug. 10mo,

Ætat. 44.

The period for which Augustus had accepted the command of the armies, and taken charge of part of the provinces being about to expire, he repeated the form of his resignation, and was prevailed upon to resume his trust, though but for a term of five years longer. Agrippa being now the son-in-law of the Emperor, and the first in his favor, as well as his nearest relation, was joined with him for the same term of five years, in the character of Tribune of the People.

During the preceding part of the new establishment, Augustus had affected to limit the exercise of his power to the military department, or to the provinces committed to his charge. In the city, or in civil affairs, he acted in the name of the Senate, or under the veil of some temporary office of magistracy. But in the period upon which he was now entering, he seemed to have thought himself safe in assuming a more direct authority. He accordingly received from the Senate an appointment of perpetual extraordinary Consul, to be preceded in all public appearances by twelve Lictors, and in the Senate to have a chair of state placed between the ordinary Consuls of the year. He likewise received unlimited authority to enact laws, to the observance of which, the Senate offered to bind themselves by

⁴² Dio Cass. lib. liv.

oath. In this, he took occasion to give a proof of his moderation, by preventing the oath to be administered; but he proceeded from henceforward in the exercise of his power, with fewer disguises than he had formerly employed.

CHAP.
III.

Prerogatives, hitherto assumed under the name of some ordinary magistracy, were committed to officers, acting by the appointment of Cæsar, and by his sole authority. Among these, may be numbered the inspection of the public works; of the highways; the navigation of the river; the markets⁴³; the public granaries; the preservation of the peace, or government of the city, which was now committed to a military Præfect or Governor. Other new institutions were made, to remedy evils of a recent date.

From the time of the civil wars, Italy had remained subject to many disorders. The inhabitants, alledging the dangers to which they had been exposed in their persons and properties, continued to form into bands, and taking arms, under pretence of defending themselves, employed those arms for lawless purposes; robbed, murdered, or by force confined to labor in their work-houses many innocent passengers, whether freemen or slaves, whom they thought proper to question or violate, under the appellation of disorderly persons. To remedy this evil, guards were posted at proper intervals, and a species of military patrol established throughout the country, with orders to protect travellers, to in-

⁴³ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 17.

112 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK VI. spect the work-houses or receptacles of laboring slaves, and to suppress all associations, besides those of the ancient corporations ⁴⁴.

By the same authority Augustus revived some obsolete laws and gave instructions to put them in force: such as the laws limiting expense, restraining adultery, lewdness, and bribery, together with the laws which had been provided to promote marriage, or to discourage celibacy. The limitation of expense may have had its propriety under a republic, where it is an object of state not to suffer the citizen by his manner of living, or by his affectation of magnificence, to ruin himself, or to aim at distinction above his equals; but the object of the sumptuary laws, now enforced, is not specially mentioned. It was probably the same with that of the laws revived by Julius Cæsar, and consequently the same with that of the laws long since obtained, under the republic, by the Tribune Licinius, and chiefly respecting the consumption of provisions.

In limiting the excess of the table, Augustus was himself a striking example of sobriety, being extremely moderate and abstemious in the use of wine and of food ⁴⁵; and with respect to the other

⁴⁴ Sueton. in Octav. c. 32.

⁴⁵ In his ordinary diet, when he wanted nourishment he ate a little bread, with some dried fruit, without observing any stated time for his meals. He ordered his table indeed to be regularly served; but he himself joined the company irregularly, often after they were set, and frequently left them before they had done, and insisted that he should

objects

objects of his severity, although he himself was not equally free from imputation, he probably already experienced the necessity of certain restraints in his own family, and very properly thought it became him, in the capacity of magistrate, every where to watch over the purity of domestic manners. His zeal to recommend marriage, and to promote the settlement of families, probably suggested the same measures ⁴⁶.

The Romans, by means of the Census, obtained a more regular account of the numbers of the People than any other nation, and they were exceedingly watchful of their population, even when they had least cause to apprehend a diminution of it. They made laws to encourage marriage, when the advantages enjoyed by any Roman citizen, as father of a family, were of themselves a sufficient encouragement. Augustus being to revive those laws, produced and read in the Senate a speech at that time, still extant which had been delivered by Metellus Numidicus on this subject, about a hundred years before the present date.

Even so far back, under the republic, the decline of domestic manners may have begun to be felt. Licentiousness and want of œconomy may have already broke into the establishment of Roman families; disorders happening in the state of matri-

not be disturbed in this freedom by any ceremony of waiting for him, or by any troublesome attentions whatever. Sueton. in Octav. c. 72, 73. 76, 77.

⁴⁶. Sueton in Octav. c. 69.

BOOK
VI.

mony, may have deterred the single from embracing it. But if the effect of such circumstances then began to appear, how much more may we suppose that the destructive civil wars, which followed the removal of the ancient inhabitants of Italy, to make way for strangers and soldiers of fortune, must have operated to reduce the numbers of the people? These troubles ending in military government; the uncertainty of every man's condition depending on the will of a master, fear, melancholy, and dejection, felt amidst the ruins of a fallen republic, may have completed the accumulation of evils, and the effect may have suggested to Augustus the necessity of reviving the ancient laws of the republic for the encouragement of population; inasmuch, that the extension and application of them became a principal object of his reign.

Suetonius, as usual in his manner, without regard to dates, brings into one view many particulars of the policy of Augustus relating to this subject. Among these, it is mentioned that he augmented the rewards of marriage, and the penalties on celibacy¹⁷. — That he sometimes brought forward the children of his own family into the place of public assembly, and exhorted the people to profit by that example; but that his zeal in this matter was far from being acceptable to the People. That he was frequently accosted in the theatres and places of public resort, with general cries of aversion; — had representations from citizens of rank, that it was

¹⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.

impossible to support the extravagance of women educated in high condition, and was obliged to correct many of the edicts he at first had published, and to abate much of their rigor; — that, in order to facilitate the settlement of families, he permitted free and noble citizens to marry emancipated slaves ⁴⁸; — that the law, nevertheless, was still eluded; — that pretended marriages were contracted with children or females under age, and the completion of course indefinitely deferred ⁴⁹; — that to prevent such evasions or frauds, it was enacted that no marriage could be legally contracted with any female under ten years of age, nor the completion of any marriage be delayed above two years after the date of the supposed contract ⁵⁰.

As it was proposed to multiply marriages, so it appeared likewise of consequence to render the dissolution of those already formed more difficult, and to lay divorces and separations under proportional restraints ⁵¹. Under this wretched policy it seemed to be forgotten, that where mankind are happy, nature has provided sufficient inducements to marriage. The sovereign, who charged himself with the care of the People, seemed to consider a state into which mankind are powerfully led, by the most irresistible calls of affection, passion and desire, as a kind of work-house into which they must be driven by the goad and the whip, or a prison in

⁴⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.

⁴⁹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 34.

⁵⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.

⁵¹ Sueton. in Octav. cap. 34.

BOOK
VI.

which they must be detained under bars and fetters of iron. The People seemed to feel themselves become the property of a master, who required them to multiply, in order to increase the number of his subjects; and they resisted this part of his administration, more than any other circumstance of the state of degradation into which they were fallen.

U. C. 736.
C. Furnius,
C. Julius
Silanius.
Aug. 12 mo.
Ætat. 45.

Augustus, in this second period of his reign, while he extended the exercise of his power, still endeavoured to disguise it under some forms or regulations of the ancient constitution. For this purpose, he revived the laws against bribery, those against taking fees for the pleading of causes, and the laws that were made to enforce the attendance of Senators. In these particulars, we cannot imagine that he so far mistook the situation into which he had brought the people, as to revive laws against bribery, after there ceased to be any free election; the laws against accepting of fees⁵² for pleading of causes, after all the motives which formerly induced Senators to lend their gratuitous protection, had ceased to exist⁵³; the law imposing a fine upon members of the Senate coming too late to their places, after the proceedings of the Senate, were reduced to a mere form, by which the Emperor enforced his own decrees⁵⁴. In these instances, then, we must suppose that Augustus, in the usual

⁵² Lex Cincia. The offender was subjected to a fine, equal to double the fee he had accepted.

⁵³ Under the republic, the character of an able pleader led to the highest preferments and honors of the state.

⁵⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 18.

strain of his policy, revived the laws of the republic, in order to make it be believed that the republic was still in existence. But notwithstanding his attention, by these and other methods, to conceal the extent of his usurpation, he could not escape the penetration of his subjects, nor even the animadversion of buffoons, to whom some degrees of freedom or of petulance are permitted, after they are withheld from every one else. Having banished a player of the name of Pylades, for a difference with an other player of the name of Bathyllus, he afterwards to please the People, recalled Pylades; and, giving him some admonition to be upon his good behaviour for the future: *That is a jest*, said the other, *for the more that the People are occupied with our quarrels, the better for you*".

The Emperor, having remained at Rome about two years after the commencement of the second period of his reign, continued, or began to carry on many works for the ornament, magnificence, or convenience of the city. To defray the expense of such works, he laid persons, who had obtained a triumph, or any military honor, under a contribution of some part of their spoils; and by these means, perhaps, made some officers pay for their vanity more than they had taken from the enemy. He was supposed to be lavish of military honors, which in reality began to lose their value, or to change their nature, being mere badges of court-favor, not, as formerly, the evidence or record of

" Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 17.

118 THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

BOOK
VI.

signal services rendered to the State, and supported by the testimony of victorious armies, and the voice of the People. It may be observed, as an evidence, how much the triumph was fallen in its value, that, for some advantage gained over the Garamantes⁵⁶, an obscure nation on the frontier of the Roman province in Africa, it was bestowed on Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and but newly admitted a Roman citizen; while it was declined by Agrippa, to whom it was due for his eminent services, and who considered it as a piece of empty pageantry, which could add nothing to the consideration he already enjoyed⁵⁷.

U. C. 736.
August. 11mo,
Ætat. 45.

About this time Augustus received an accession to his family by the birth of an other grandson, of the name of Lucius, the second son of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia; and by adopting both the brothers, conferred upon them the names of Caius and Lucius Cæsar; and, by the same act, published the destination of his fortunes.

In the midst of festivals, which were instituted on this occasion, the attention of the Emperor was called anew to the provinces by alarms which were received at once in many parts of the empire.

U. C. 737.
L. Domitius
Ahenobarbus,
P. Cornelius
Scipio. August.
12mo, Ætat.
46.

Historians give us a list of particulars, exhibiting the troubles to which so extensive a territory was still exposed. The Commenii and Venones, nations inhabiting the vallies of the Alps, were in arms. The Pannonii and Norisci had attacked Istria.

⁵⁶ Plin. lib. v. c. 6.

⁵⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 11.

The Danthæleti and Scordisci had invaded Macedonia. The Sauromatæ had passed the Danube. Some cantons, both of Dalmatia and Spain, had revolted. The Sicambri, Usupetes, and Tencheri, German nations bordering on the Rhine, having seized on the Italian traders who frequented their country, in imitation of the Roman manner of punishing slaves, nailed them to the cross, and employing this insult as a declaration of war, passed the Rhine, and made a descent upon Gaul. They surprised and put to flight a party of horse which had been sent by Lollius to observe their motions. In pursuit of this advantage, they fell in with the main body, commanded by Lollius himself, equally unprepared to receive them, obliged him to retire with great loss, and with the disgrace of leaving the standard of one of the legions in the hands of his enemies⁵⁸.

These revolts of the frontier provinces, or incursions of barbarous neighbours, may be considered as part of a war which lasted for ages, and terminated at last in the ruin of the empire. The defeat of Lollius was indeed the first signal calamity which had befallen the Roman arms under the auspices of the present Emperor⁵⁹. It was supposed to have greatly affected him, and to have caused the resolution which he took to pass the Alps, and to superintend, in person, the measures that were necessary to repair this loss. His departure from

⁵⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 20. Vell. Pater. lib. 20. c. 97.

⁵⁹ Suet. in Octav. c. 33.

BOOK
VI.

Rome, however, at this time, is likewise ascribed to other motives. He had now, for about two years, been exposed in the city to the animadversion and censure which a people, still petulant though not free, were ready, on so near a view, to bestow on his person and government; and it was part of his policy to withdraw, at proper intervals, from the observation of such a People, in order to preserve that respect and authority which too much familiarity is apt to impair. He accordingly took occasion from these alarms, on the west and northern frontier, to absent himself from the city; and dispatched Agrippa, at the same time, into Asia, where a contest which had arisen respecting the succession of the kingdom of the Bosphorus required his presence.

The Emperor, leaving the administration of affairs at Rome in the hands of Statilius Taurus, set out for Gaul, accompanied by Mæcenas and Tiberius, now in the rank of Prætor, who made a part of his court. At his arrival in Gaul, the People were relieved of the alarm they had taken on the approach of the German invaders, who, not being prepared to make a continued war beyond their own boundaries, had repassed the Rhine. He proceeded, therefore, to receive the representations that were made to him relating to the administration of the province. Among these are mentioned complaints of extortion on the part of the governor. This officer, though now bearing a Roman name, that of Licinius, was himself a native of Gaul, and had been a slave in the family of Julius Cæsar.

U. C. 738.
M. Livius
Drusus,
L. Calpurnius Piso.
August.
13mo.
Ætat. 47.

Having become, by the bounty of his master, a freeman and a Roman citizen, he was afterward gradually raised, by Augustus himself, to the height of his present command, in which he committed enormous oppressions. Being convicted of the crimes which were laid to his charge, it is said, that the money of which he had robbed the province was seized, but not returned to the owners⁶⁰.

While the Germans fled from Gaul upon the report of the Emperor's approach, the revolts of the Commenii and Venones, of the Pannonii and Ligures Commati, were quelled at the same time, by the different officers who had been employed against them. The Rhæti and Vindelici, nations inhabiting the valley of Trent, having been long in the practice of plundering the Roman traders, of making incursions into Gaul, and even into Italy, were attacked first by Drusus, the younger of the sons of Livia, and being forced from their own country, moved in a hostile manner into the Roman province, where they were received by Tiberius, at the head of a considerable army; and being pressed at once by both the brothers, were obliged to make their submission, and to suffer the greater part of their men, able to carry arms, to be transplanted into other countries⁶¹.

The peace being thus established on the side of Germany, the Emperor applied himself to restore

⁶⁰ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 21.

⁶¹ Videre Rhætis bella sub Alpibus. Drusum gerentem, & Vindelici, &c. &c. Horat. Carm. lib. iv. Od. iv. Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 22. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 95.

BOOK

VI.

some cities which had gone to ruin in different parts of the empire, and to plant new colonies in Gaul and in Spain. Whether these were settlements provided for the veterans and emeriti, by dispossessing the ancient inhabitants, or new plantations made in waste and unappropriated lands, is uncertain. Suetonius informs us, that no less than twenty-eight different colonies were settled in Italy, towns built, and funds allotted to defray the expense of these newly established communities; and that persons, who had filled any office of magistracy in these colonies, were entitled to a vote in the elections at Rome.

Among the acts of Augustus, during his progress in Gaul, are mentioned the effects of his attention to the favorite object of encouraging population, with the premiums he gave, wherever he passed, to such persons as presented him with numerous families of children⁶²: it is mentioned, that the city of Paphos being destroyed by an earthquake, he gave orders to have it rebuilt; and, as an earnest of his future patronage, gave the inhabitants leave to change the name to Augusta⁶³: that he restored to the people of Cyzicum in Bithynia, the privileges of which he himself had lately deprived them: that his orders, to re-establish the king of Pontus in possession of the Bosphorus, which had been usurped by a pretended descendant of Mithridates,

U. C. 739.

M. Licinius,
Cn. Cornelius
Lentulus.

August.

14mo,

Ætat. 48.

⁶² Sueton. in Octav. c. 46.⁶³ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 23.

being successfully executed by Agrippa, he received the report of this service without having it communicated to the Senate. And this is said to have been the first instance in which this form was omitted.

A triumph having been offered to Agrippa, on this occasion, was again declined ⁶⁴.

Augustus had now passed above two years in Gaul, and obtained the end for which he went, whether of a temporary recess from Rome, or of making the necessary provision for the security of the province. Leaving Drusus, the younger of the sons of Livia, to command on the Rhine, and to continue the military services he had lately begun among the Alps, he himself set out on his return to Italy. But, willing to avoid the crowds which usually advanced to receive him on his approach to the city, he made his entry in the night. The Senate, however, not to lose any opportunity of paying their court, ordered to be erected, in the usual place of their assembly, an altar, on which to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his safe return; and to signalize the occasion by some circumstance of a gracious nature, resolved, that from this date, whatever criminal within the city presented his prayer for forgiveness to the Emperor in person should receive his pardon. Both these flattering decrees, presented to him on the day of his arrival, he rejected. On the following day, he received the

C H A P.

III.

U. C. 740.

Tiberius

Claudius

Nero,

Quincellus

Varus.

August.

15mo,

Ætat. 49.

⁶⁴ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 23.

BOOK
VI.

salutations of the People on the Palatine Hill “, ordered the baths to be thrown open to them, and the usual attendance at such places to be given at his own expense. From this ceremony he proceeded to the Capitol, and going up to the statue of Jupiter, stript the laurel from his fasces, and laid this badge of his victory at the feet of the pedestal. He then assembled the Senate; but excusing himself from speaking, on account of a hoarseness, he delivered a paper to be read by his Quæstor, containing a summary of his late operations in the provinces, and some new regulations, by which the army, for the future, were to be governed “.

Augustus had gradually, since his accession to the government of the empire, endeavoured to improve the discipline of the legions, and particularly to restore the dignity of the military character, by forbidding the admission of slaves. From this rule he never departed, except either upon extraordinary occasions, which required sudden augmentations of the army, or in recruiting particular bodies of men, such as the city-watch, appointed to guard against fire and other disorders. And he succeeded so far in restoring the discipline, which had been much relaxed in times of the civil war, that he had authority enough, on different occasions, to dismiss, without any provision or reward, all such as presumed to make any demands in a mutinous man-

“ The place of his own residence.

“ Dio-Cass. lib. liv. c. 25.

ner. He had entirely disbanded the tenth legion for mutiny. In urging the duties of the service, he generally decimated such bodies of men as gave way before an enemy, and punished with death the desertion of a post, whether in officers or private men. Less offences he punished with some species of ignominy or disgrace, as, by obliging the offender to stand a whole day unarmed before the general's tent, with some mark or badge of disgrace⁶⁷.

By the regulations now presented to the Senate for their approbation, the term of military service was fixed, if in the Prætorian bands, at twelve years; if in the legions, at sixteen years. After this term, it was admitted that a soldier might claim his discharge.

It had been the practice in the course of the late civil wars to gratify the veterans, at their dismissal, with grants of land; a practice which taught the armies to covet the possessions of their fellow-citizens, and to seek for pretences against them, which, in reality, rendered that species of property extremely insecure. But Augustus now thought himself possessed of a sufficient authority to reform this abuse, and to substitute, for these grants of land, a gratuity in money⁶⁸. By publishing his regulation on this subject, he greatly quieted the fears and apprehensions under which the pacific inhabitants labored in different parts of the empire.

⁶⁷ Sueton. in Octav. c. 23.

⁶⁸ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 25.

BOOK

VI.

The utmost efforts of the Emperor were likewise required, on the present occasion, to preserve the mask under which he wished to conduct his government. The Senate, though maintained in all its formalities, was observed to have no power, and began to be deserted. The civil offices were shunned as a burden, or as a conspicuous servitude. Many families of Senators were gone to decay, and those who were called in to supply their places, either had not, or denied that they had the legal qualification. The titles of magistrates continued for some time to be coveted, on account of the rank which they were supposed to bestow; but the frequency and prostitution of such honors now rendered them contemptible⁶⁹; and, in some degree, already an object of that ridicule which is so well expressed by the Satyrist in writings of a later date⁷⁰.

To relieve Senators, in part, of the burdens which they alone were hitherto appointed to bear, the Emperor, while yet in Gaul, gave directions that the ten judges, who decided in all questions relating to public sales and confiscations, the three inspectors of the coin⁷¹, the officers who had charge of public executions⁷², and the wardens of the streets

⁶⁹ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 30.

⁷⁰ Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat Democritus, quanquam non essent urbibus illis, Prætextæ, & Trabeæ, Fasces, Læctica, Tribunal. —
Juven. S. x. v. 33.

⁷¹ Triumviri Monitales.

⁷² Triumviri Capitales.

and highways ⁷³, should all, for the future, be taken from the Equestrian order. It was now the practice to decline, not only servile or burdensome offices of this sort, but likewise what had been the highest stations under the republic; and it became necessary to force the acceptance of them under actual penalties. At first, all who had been Quæstors, if still under forty years of age, were draughted by lot for the superior offices ⁷⁴; all likewise who had been Quæstors, and who were possessed of the legal estate, if not above thirty years of age, were obliged to enrol in the Senate.

From this forced enrolment or promotion, however, which may be considered as a general press for Senators and officers of State, were excluded all such as had any bodily deformity or blemish, or who wanted the legal estate. In ascertaining the fortunes of Senators the parties themselves were examined, and other evidence was brought to investigate the truth. Such as appeared to have made any diminution in their paternal inheritance were obliged to specify the losses they had sustained, and to give an account of their own manner of life ⁷⁵.

In the sequel of these measures, which were intended to preserve the appearance of a commonwealth, and to support the formalities of a civil institution, it is probable although not mentioned by any of the historians, that Augustus accepted of

⁷³ Viginti Viri.

⁷⁴ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 26.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

BOOK

VI.

a prolongation of his power for other five years⁷⁶; and again assumed Agrippa with himself into the office of Tribune for the same term. The ceremony of this resignation became, by degrees, a matter of form, and his resumption of the empire was made known by sports and entertainments, which rendered the occasion extremely agreeable to the People.

At this time a theatre, which had been begun by Marcellus, was finished, and opened with great solemnity. A procession of noble youth was led by Caius the son of Agrippa, and adoptive son of the Emperor. Six hundred African wild beasts were baited in the Circus, and among them a tiger, it being the first time that this animal made its appearance at Rome⁷⁷.

In continuation of these entertainments, Julius, the son of Antony, being Prætor, celebrated the birth-day of Augustus with the most expensive shows, and in his public character entertained the Senate together, with the Emperor himself, at a feast in the Capitol⁷⁸.

Tiberius, at the same time, in performance of a
vow

⁷⁶ His having accepted the empire for ten years, and, at the expiration of this period, his having accepted of it for five years, are mentioned; and again, it is mentioned, about his twentieth year, or five years after this date, that he accepted of it for ten years more.

⁷⁷ Plin. lib. viii. c. 17.

⁷⁸ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 25; 26.

vow which he had made for the Emperor's safe return from his last excursion to the provinces, gave splendid entertainments. Having introduced Caius Cæsar, the eldest of the Emperor's adoptive sons, and placed him by himself in the Prætor's chair at the theatre, he was received by the People with shouts of applause. CHAP.
III.

The Emperor, however, gave signs of displeasure. "Such premature honors," he said, "could only serve to inspire the mind of a young man, with presumption and pride."⁷⁹

About this time died the famous Triumvir M. U. C. 740.
Æmilius Lepidus, formerly the associate or the tool of Octavius and Antony, in the execution of their designs against the republic. While he was subservient to the interest of these competitors, he was allowed, in appearance, to hold a third part of the empire; but being unsupported by any real abilities or personal authority, he ceased to be of any consequence the moment he presumed to act for himself, and was too inconsiderable, even to be an object of resentment to those he had injured. August.
1^{mo},
Ætat. 49.

Augustus had suffered this fallen rival to remain, during his life, in the dignity of Pontiff, and, by keeping him in public view, deprived him of the consolation even of being forgotten⁸⁰. The Emperor, though himself desirous to hold this sacred character, and frequently pressed, by his flatterers,

⁷⁹ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 27.

⁸⁰ Ibid. c. 15.

B O O K to supplant Lepidus, was too cautious to violate
VI. any supposed religious institution, and too politic to trifle with acknowledged rights, of which he meant, on occasion, to avail himself. But upon the death of Lepidus, he did not neglect to assume the only dignity which was wanting to complete the accumulation of prerogatives united in his own person.

Agrippa had returned to Rome, about the same time, with the Emperor; but soon had occasion again to depart from Italy, being sent to quell a rebellion that broke out in Pannonia. Upon his arrival in this country, finding the natives already subdued by the fear of his approach, he accepted of their submission; and though still in the depth of winter, set out on his return to Rome. After he had repassed the seas, on his way through Campania, he was taken dangerously ill. Augustus received the accounts of his danger, while he was exhibiting sports to the People in the name of his two sons, Caius and Lucius, and left the city immediately to attend his friend; but came too late, and after he expired.

This great man appears to have been worthy of the best times of the republic. He had magnanimity enough to have relied on his personal qualities alone for consideration and honor, and was fit to have been a citizen of Rome in its happiest age; but from the necessity of the times, and the principles of fidelity to the friend who trusted him, he became a principal support of the monarchy. His great abilities being employed to maintain the go-

U. C. 741.
 M. Valerius
 Barbatus,
 P. Sulpicius,
 Omilian. in
 mag. mort.
 C. Vagius
 abdicavit,
 C. Caninius,
 August.
 16mo,
 Ætat. 50.

vernment and authority of the prince, and his credit with the prince employed in acts of justice and moderation to the People, he was neither an object of jealousy to the one, nor of envy to the other.

It was a singular instance of good fortune to have found such an officer, and a mark of understanding and steadiness, without jealousy, and without wavering, to have persevered in the choice. In this, and in some other instances, Augustus showed that his talent was not mere cunning, but a principle of able conduct, which is tried in nothing more than in the choice and employment of proper men. He raised Agrippa, though not a flatterer, from a low condition, to command his forces, to preside in his councils, and, last of all, by the marriage of his daughter, to the highest place in his own family.

At the funeral of his friend, the Emperor took upon himself the office of principal mourner, accompanied the corpse from Campania to Rome; and having it brought into the Forum, pronounced the funeral oration, having, while he spoke, a screen placed between himself and the dead body. In order to confirm and to increase the regard that was paid to the memory of the deceased, he not only ratified that part of the will, by which Agrippa bequeathed his gardens and his baths to the public, but in his name also made further additions to the legacy.

Julia, at the death of her husband, was again pregnant, and bore a third son, who, from the

BOOK
VI.

family of his father, and the circumstances of his birth, was known by the name of Agrippa Posthumus.⁸¹

⁸¹ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 28, 29.

CHAP. IV.

*Marriage of Julia with Tiberius. — Death of Drusus.
— Death of Maecenas. — Disgrace of Julia. — War
in Pannonia. — Roman Legions cut off in Germany.
— Tiberius associated in the Empire. — Death of
Augustus.*

THE death of Agrippa made way for Tiberius
Claudius Nero, then about twenty-eight years of
age, into a higher place than he yet held in the
family and confidence of the Emperor.

CHAP.

IV.

U. C. 741.

August.

16mo,

Ætat, 50.

Octavius had received this young man in the
arms of his mother Livia, had observed the pro-
gress of his childhood and youth, and had given
him no distinguished place in his favor during the
lives of Marcellus or Agrippa, to whom he had
successively married his daughter: but being de-
prived of both these supports, and his adopted chil-
dren Caius and Lucius being yet of tender age, he
was led to receive Tiberius as a relation, the nearest
to supply the place of those he had lost.

Livia, by whose arts the Emperor now began
to be governed, was according to the report of
historians, and, as we may infer from her own con-
duct, perfectly formed to the mind of her husband.
In all matters, not only of business, whether private
or public, but even in those affairs in which the sexes

BOOK
VI.

are least patient of each others failings, she preserved or affected the most implicit submission to his will. She is said, not only to have connived at his infidelities, but as often as he was inclined to diversify his pleasures, even to have employed her sagacity and her knowledge of his choice in procuring him the means of indulging his fancy. Herself, the dupe of no passion which was likely to mislead her, she never lost an opportunity to advance her family, nor risked the miscarriage of her purpose, by hastening improperly the means of obtaining it. Favored by the death of Agrippa, and the minority of the young Cæsars, she easily, without seeming to entertain any improper views for her son, procured his advancement. He was at first received by the Emperor as a temporary aid in the government, and afterwards as a person fit to become the third husband of Julia; and by this connexion to occupy a rank in his family, which had been hitherto considered as the nearest to his own.

Tiberius, at the time that this resolution was taken in his favor, was already a husband and a father, having been married to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, by whom he had a son named Drusus. He is said to have parted, with great reluctance, from Vipsania, then a second time pregnant, in order to make way for Julia, by whom he was to hold the second place in the empire.

Augustus had hitherto distinguished, by the marriage of his daughter, the person whom he meant to point out as his successor; but, his family being now become numerous, it does not appear that he

had any thoughts of giving to this new son-in-law precedence of his adopted children, Caius and Lucius, who, bearing the name of Cæsar, already precluded any competition for rank in the empire¹. This third marriage of Julia, he probably intended for a purpose, which it did not by any means serve, that of restraining the disorders to which this unhappy person was inclined.

Tiberius had begun his military services with some distinction in Gaul, and now coming into the place of Agrippa, was sent to repress a rebellion, which, upon the report of that officer's death, had again broke out in Pannonia. Having succeeded in this service, he gave orders, that the youth of the vanquished nation should be sold into slavery, and that the buyer should come under an obligation to transport them far from their native country; a cruel action, but not to be imputed merely to the personal character of this young man, as it did not exceed what was frequent in the history of the Romans. Upon this occasion Tiberius had the honor of a triumph conferred by the Senate; but by the Emperor's directions, while he accepted of the triumphal robes, he declined to enter the city in procession².

About the same time Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, then stationed on the Rhine, had repulsed a body of Germans, passed the river in pursuit of them, and laid waste the contiguous country

¹ Dîo Cass. lib. liv. c. 31.

² Ibid.

BOOK VI. of the Sicambri and Usipetes, which, lying between the Lippe and the Issel, is now the bishopric of Munster, or the province of Zutphen. Having embarked his army, he fell down the Issel to the marshy lands inhabited by the Frisii and Chauci, probably what are now the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, arrived without resistance at the sea, where the tides, to which his Italian mariners were unaccustomed, leaving them sometimes ashore, and almost out of sight of the sea, at other times threatening to overflow all the lands in their view, gave them at first considerable trouble; but having learned to accommodate themselves to this alternate flux and reflux of the waters, they took the benefit of the floods to re-ascend the river, and returned to their station on the frontiers of Gaul.

Drusus, having thus explored the coasts of the northern ocean, set out for Italy; and, though already vested with the dignity of Prætor, was made to accept of inferior rank in the office of Ædile; probably to set an example, encouraging others to comply with the forms of the republic which were still kept up; but which were at this time very much neglected by persons of rank.

As the Roman armies had now, for some time, ceased to make offensive war. Many of the barbarous nations took courage from this circumstance, and began to harass the provinces in their neighbourhood, passed the Rhine and the Danube in frequent incursions and laid waste the frontiers of Gaul,

^s Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 32.

Pannonia and Thrace ; infomuch , that it appeared necessary , for the security of these provinces , to attack the enemy , and to furnish them sufficient occupation in the defence of their own country.

C H A P.
IV.

In the spring of the following year , Drusus accordingly having returned to his command on the frontiers of Gaul , passed the Rhine , over-ran the territory of the Chatti^{*} , and penetrated to the Wefer. In these operations , although the Emperor's object , on this and every other service , was merely defensive , it appeared necessary , not only to occupy both banks of the Rhine ; but likewise to have fortified stations on the Lippe , from which to observe the Germans in their future preparations to pass the river for the purpose of invading Gaul.

U. C. 742.
Q. Ælius Tu-
bero , Paulus
Trebius Max.
August. 17mo.
Ætat. 51.

Drusus , for his services in this campaign , was saluted by the army , as had been customary in the times of the republic , with the title of Imperator ; but this designation having been , for some time , appropriated to the sovereign as head of the armies of the empire , was now , by him , refused to Drusus. The title of Proconsul , with the triumphal robes , were decreed to him instead of the other. On his return to Gaul , the Germans laid an ambuscade on the route by which he was to pass , and threatened his army with imminent danger ; but lost the advantage of the disposition they had made , by discovering their posture too soon , and by giving the Romans an opportunity to extricate themselves by a vigorous attack , in which they gained a decisive victory.

^{*} Supposed to be that of Hesse.

BOOK
VI.

Upon the news of this event, which seemed to remove, for some time, the prospect of any further trouble on the side of Germany, it was proposed, once more, to shut the gates of Janus¹. But an irruption of the Daci, who passed the Danube on the ice, together with inroads made by the Thracians into Macedonia, and fresh insurrections in Dalmatia, still kept the empire in a state of war.

Lucius Piso, formerly governor of Pamphilia, was employed in repressing the attempts of the Thracians; and Tiberius, in reducing the Dalmatians². The last of these territories, which, in the general partition of the empire, had been committed to the Senate, was now, on account of its frequent revolts, taken under the immediate inspection of the Emperor.

While these operations took place, under the officers whom the Emperor employed in the provinces, he himself remained at Rome; and the few circumstances which are mentioned, relating to affairs of State in the capital, are characteristic of the times, but not otherwise interesting or important.

The Emperor himself, in his capacity of inspector of manners, took an account of the People, paying the highest regard to the distinctions of Senator and Knight, and to the honors which were constituted by titles of office, as those of Prætor and Consul. But these names of distinction, which he affected to preserve, having no real consideration or power

¹ Dio Cass. lib. liv. c. 36.

² Ibid. c. 34. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 98.

annexed to them, only served to remind the People of dignities which no longer existed. C H A P.
IV.

The Senate itself, though filled with persons who bore the titles of Prætorian and Consular, and though with affected respect, still preserved among the ruins of the commonwealth, being deprived of its ancient foundations, underwent a continual decay; and the honors to which citizens had formerly aspired, with so much ardor, were now neglected or shunned with disdain. The wealthy fearing more the burdens to which they might be exposed, on the supposition of possessing great riches, than coveting the honors to which the qualification of Senator entitled them, came to the musters with reluctance, and even concealed their effects.

To counteract this disposition, and to set an example of public duty, the Emperor made a fair return of his own patrimonial estate, and, as far as was consistent with his sovereignty, endeavoured to raise the value of subordinate ranks, admitted members into the Senate with lower qualifications than formerly; diminished the *quorum*, or number that was hitherto required to constitute a legal assembly; and, affecting great respect for the proceedings of the Senate, ordered their journals to be regularly kept; and gave this matter in particular charge to the Quæstors.

In other respects, the servility of the times seemed to outrun the exactions of the sovereign. Some of the courtiers, in their desire to flatter, and others, under the fear of being suspected of disaffection,

BOOK began the practice of contributing sums of money
VI. to erect statues to the Emperor; and he himself, in consequence of some dream, or directed by some species of superstition, made it a practice, on certain days, to ask, as in charity, from all who came in his way, some small pieces of money⁷. As he was in his temper sufficiently liberal, neither of these practices brought him under any imputation of rapacity. What was contributed to erect statues for himself he employed in multiplying those of the gods, particularly in erecting the allegorical images of Safety, Concord, and Peace. What he received as a charity was returned twofold.

The republican honors, though much faded on every other brow, still bore a considerable lustre among the Emperor's titles, made a part of his state, and an engine of his power. Those of the priesthood, in particular, equally suited to every constitution of government, were easily brought in aid of his military power. For this reason the title of Flamen Dialis, or Priest of Jupiter, was now added to the other dignities of the same kind which the Emperor had recently assumed. It being deemed ominous, and presaging the greatest calamities, if a Flamen Dialis should die in office, this dignity formed an additional guard to the Emperor's person. It had been vacant about seventy years from the demise of Merula, who being Consul when Cinna forced his way into the city, and seeing no means of escape, in order to avert from

⁷ Sueton. in Vit. August. c. 91.

his country the supposed evils which must have followed from his dying in the priesthood, divested himself, stripped the sacred crest or fillet from his hair, and being thus reduced to a private station, cut his own arteries, and sprinkled the altar of Jupiter with his blood.

This ceremony, it was supposed, had averted the evils to which the republic, to expiate the death of this sacred person, would have been otherwise exposed; and the priesthood had, from reverence to this illustrious martyr, been suffered to remain vacant till a person could be found that was worthy to succeed him; a condition which was now supposed to be fulfilled in the person of Augustus.

About this date died Octavia, the widow of Marcellus and of Marc Antony. Her obsequies being performed with great pomp, the Emperor himself pronounced the funeral oration, having a screen, as at the burial of Agrippa, to hide the body from his view.

U. C. 743.
Julius Antonius Africanus. Q. Fabius Maximus.
Aug. 18mo, Etat. 52.

Soon after this event, notwithstanding there was no recent alarm from the enemy on the Rhine, the Emperor thought proper to change the place of his residence from Italy to the north of the Alps. Under pretence of observing the storms which still threatened the province of Gaul from the barbarous nations on its frontier, he took his station for the campaign at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhône, and from thence gave his instructions to the two brothers, Tiberius and Drusus, to whom the war was committed on the Save and the Rhine. Both having been successful in the services intrusted

B O O K to them, joined the Emperor at his quarters, and
VI. from thence accompanied him to Rome, where they partook in the honors which were paid to him for the success of his arms.

U. C. 744. In the following spring the two brothers resumed their commands, and the Emperor returned to his former residence on the Rhône. Drusus passed the Rhine, over-ran the country of the Chatti, and penetrated to the Elbe, where he erected some trophies, and left some monuments of the progress he had made; but on the approach of winter, being obliged to retire, he was taken ill on the march and died.

Nero Claudius Drusus, Q. Fabius Maximus.
Aug. 19no,
Ætat. 53.

Tiberius, who had been sent by the Emperor on the first news of his brother's illness, came in time to see him expire. The funeral being to be performed in Italy, the corpse, during the march of the army to the Rhine, was carried by officers of the highest rank. From the Rhine it was conveyed on the shoulders of the principal inhabitants, who received it on the confines of their respective districts, and bore it to the next. Augustus himself, on the occasion, repaired to Rome; but being then in a military character, or in the actual exercise of a military commission, and not permitted, by the ancient forms of the republic, to enter the city, he spoke a funeral oration in the Circus Flaminius, which was without the walls. Tiberius followed the corpse to the forum, and delivered another oration there. The obsequies were performed by persons of the equestrian and senatorian rank. The ashes were deposited in the tomb of Augustus.

The title of Germanicus having been conferred on Drusus, it remained in his family. He had issue two sons and a daughter; the eldest known by the name of Germanicus Cæsar, the younger by the name of Claudius, long neglected on account of his imbecility; and the daughter Livilla, hereafter to be mentioned as the wife of successive husbands.

Tiberius, soon after the funeral of his brother, entered the city in procession, to celebrate the success of his arms in Dalmatia. He gave a public feast to the People; and as in this entertainment only one of the sexes could partake, Livia and Julia were allowed to entertain the other.

The influence of Livia, and the elevation of her family, notwithstanding the hopes that were entertained of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, were now apparent, and procured her flattering decrees from the Senate, that were offered in consolation for the loss of her son. Her statue was erected at the public expence, and she herself was vested with the privilege, reckoned so highly honorable at Rome, that of being the parent of three children*.

In the beginning of the following year Augustus again entered the city in a kind of triumphal procession, carrying his laurel to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, instead of that of Jupiter Capitolinus. But he made no rejoicings, alledging, that he had suffered more by the death of Drusus than he had gained by the success of his arms. The Consuls, however, took charge of the solemnities usual on

U. C. 745.
C. Marcus Censorinus, C. Asinius Gallus.
Aug. 20mo.
Ætat. 54.

* Dio Cass. lib. xxxv. c. 1, 2.

BOOK
VI

such occasions, and among the public shows brought forth some captives, whom they obliged, for the entertainment of the People, to fight in the theatre⁹.

The period for which Augustus, at his last pretended resignation, had consented to accept of the government, being expired, he affected a purpose, as formerly, to resign the empire; and was again prevailed upon to resume it for ten years more. The decline of the civil establishment, of which he still wished to preserve the appearances, occupied his principal attention. The Senate, as has been observed, underwent a continual degradation, and its assemblies were neglected. The members excused their neglect, by pretending, that the times of meeting being irregular, they had no proper intimation to attend; and that they were frequently engaged in trials and other public business when the Senate was called.

To obviate such excuses for the future, the Emperor appointed ordinary assemblies of the Senate on particular days of each month, and ordered that those days should be kept clear of trials, or any other public business whatever, that might occupy the members. Having formerly reduced the number that was required to constitute a legal meeting, from four hundred to three hundred, he now directed, that in matters of less moment, even fewer might constitute such meetings, and that in fixing the quorum on any particular occasion, regard

⁹ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 5.

should

should be had to the importance of the business before them; that even without requiring the presence of any determinate number, the Senate might form resolutions which, though not accompanied with the force of laws, should nevertheless be deemed of great authority. He, at the same time, ordered a list of the members to be published; increased the fine usually paid for absence, and, to facilitate the ordinary course of their proceedings, extended to the Prætors the privilege of making motions, which had been hitherto confined to the Consuls or to himself.

These several resolutions, before they passed into laws, were posted up in the Senate-house, and every person was invited to offer his observations and corrections ^{1°}.

About the same time are dated other regulations ascribed to Augustus, of which some related to the conduct of elections, and others to that of criminal trials. As to the first, although every office was filled by his own nomination, he affected to preserve the ancient forms; and, in order to give some appearance of reality to the right of election, which he affected to leave with the People, he prescribed rules, which were to be observed in the manner of collecting the votes, and in restraining corruption. Among these it is mentioned, that he ordered, as soon as any candidate had declared himself, he should deposit a certain sum of money, to be forfeited in case he were detected in procuring any suffrage by corrupt means.

^{1°} Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 3, 4.

BOOK

VI.

In respect to criminal trials, as the subject was more serious, the regulations now made by the Emperor were of more effect. In this matter he wished to set aside the forms of the republic, though by evasion, rather than by a formal repeal.

So long as the People were sovereigns of the commonwealth, it was part of the security which, in their collective capacity, they provided for themselves, as individuals amenable to the laws, *that no slave could be tortured to give evidence against his master.* As this law in the present state of the government, might obstruct prosecutions that were instituted even for the Emperor's safety, it was thought necessary to find some expedient by which to elude its force. For this purpose it was enacted, that such slaves as might be wanted in evidence against their masters should be conveyed by a formal process of sale to the Emperor, and that, being in his possession, they might be put to the question, or cited as witnesses, even against their former masters.

This act is by Tacitus imputed to Tiberius, and in either Emperor was considered as a dreadful innovation¹¹. But the consideration of the Emperor's safety was supposed to be a sufficient excuse for any deviation that was made from the forms of the republic.

In whatever degree the present Emperor employed, in defence of his person, the severity of criminal prosecutions, and the fear of the executioner,

¹¹ Tacit. An.

he appears to have relied for his safety more on the disguises under which he concealed his usurpation, and on the moderation and the popularity of his manners. By the respect which he affected to pay to the Senate and officers of State, he held up the forms of the republic as a kind of shield between himself and the zealots of the republican government. He endeavoured to gain the People by his affability, and frequently bore with familiarities from persons of the lowest condition. As an example of the temper with which he endured the saucy or petulant remains of military or republican freedom¹², it is mentioned, that being called upon to act as counsel in behalf of a soldier who was to be tried for some crime, and having, under pretence of some other engagement, named a friend to undertake the cause: *This*, said the soldier, *is not a proper return to me. In your danger I did not employ a substitute, but interposed myself.* He received with seeming indifference the reports of spies and informers. To a person of this character, who accused Æmilius Ælianus of having frequently traduced him; *Prove me this*, said he, *and I will show Ælianus, that I too in my turn can find faults in his character.* Tiberius having once written him a warm letter, with a complaint of the same kind, he bid him beware of the heats of youth. *It is enough*, he said, *that we can hinder people from doing us any harm*¹³; *we may allow them to say*

¹² Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 4.

¹³ Sueton in August. c. 56.

BOOK

VI.

what they please. Yet in this he did not act from contempt of the public opinion ; for in some instances he even condescended to answer accusations that were published against his private or public character ¹⁴. His discretion and prudence prevented the occasions of much jealousy and resentment ; and, in many parts of his reign, imitated the effects of generosity and elevation of mind, if they did not amount to the real possession of these characters.

Augustus having passed the winter at Rome, returned in the spring to his former station in Gaul, accompanied by Caius, the elder of his adopted sons, whom he now proposed to introduce to the military service ; and by Tiberius, who notwithstanding the rise of a new light in the person of the young Cæsar, who threatened to obscure his lustre, continued to receive fresh marks of the Emperor's favor, and was considered as a principal support of his government. Being placed at the head of the army on the Rhine, he had charge of the war which had lately been committed to Drusus, his younger brother. But few particulars are mentioned of the campaign which followed in that quarter. He is accused, in one instance, of having violated the public faith, by having seized as prisoners, and sent in chains to different parts of the Roman provinces, the deputies of some German nations, who came in a public capacity to treat of peace ; and of having laid waste the country in the neighbourhood of his province.

¹⁴ Sueton. in August. c. 56.

The Germans, however, were probably rather incensed than subdued by these measures. Their deputies, who had been made prisoners, that they might not be employed against their own nations as hostages, put themselves to death; and their countrymen retained the most vehement purpose of revenge. But whatever may have been the result, it is mentioned, that Augustus received from the army the title of Imperator, and gave this title likewise to Tiberius; that he put him in nomination for Consul on the following year, and, at their return to Rome, permitted him to make his entry into the city in triumph, while he himself declined the honor.

Soon after the Emperor's arrival in Italy, he suffered a great loss by the death of Mæcenas. This event made a breach in the civil department of his affairs, not less than that which the death of Agrippa had made in the military. The predilection of this minister for learning, and the intimacy in which he lived with persons of the best and most elegant accomplishments, who were recommended to him merely by their merit, has made his name proverbial among those of the patrons of letters. His inclination in this matter, if it did not form the taste of his master, happily concurred with it, and brought him acquainted with those elegant productions of genius which occupy the affections, as well as the fancy; and which, in a situation otherwise likely to instil pride, jealousy, and distrust of mankind, served at once as an antidote to these evils, and opened the way to better dispositions. Mæcenas

BOOK
VI.

had served his prince with great fidelity, and, if not insensible to personal ambition, was at least satisfied with the elevation he had gained in the confidence of his prince. He retained the equestrian rank to which he was born, without endeavouring to accumulate the preferments or titles which were so much an object of ambition in the earlier part of this reign, and so easy an acquisition in the latter part of it¹⁵. It is observed, however, that he experienced, as is common, some vicissitude in his master's temper, and outlived the high measure of favor which he enjoyed, but without any interruption of his duty. As he lived, when most in favor, without any public envy, so he escaped every public insult when supposed in disgrace. While he presented the Emperor with a continual model of elegance, ingenuity, and good temper, he took the liberty to check his passions, and served him no less by the sincerity of his speech, than by the ability of his conduct. An instance of the freedom he took is mentioned on occasion of a trial in which Augustus himself, according to custom, sat in judgment on some criminals of State. Mæcenas observing him agitated with passion, and likely to pronounce some precipitant or cruel sentence; and being hindered by the crowd from reaching his ear, handed a billet to him, which contained no more than two words, which may be translated into this homely expression, *hangman*,

¹⁵ Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. c. 30.

*begone*¹⁶! The admonition, however, had its effect, and the Emperor adjourned the court. CHAP.
IV.

The minister left his whole estate, as was the fashion of the age, at the Emperor's disposal¹⁷.

By these successive diminutions of the list of confidents, on whom Augustus relied for the administration of his government, the influence of Livia, and the fortunes of her son Tiberius, received a continual advancement. The latter, after he had

resumed the military habit, in his capacity of commander of the armies on the Rhine, being to enter on the office of Consul, was received by the Senate in the Curia Octavia, beyond the walls of the city. In his address to this assembly, he spoke of the public works which he proposed to erect. Among these a Temple of Concord, to be inscribed with his own name, joined with that of his brother; and of another temple, to be dedicated by himself, in conjunction with his mother Livia. He gave, in her name and in his own, upon this occasion, splendid entertainments to the Senate, and to persons of distinction of both sexes. Having vowed an exhibition of public shows for the safe return of the Emperor from his last campaign, he made all the necessary provision for the performance of his vow; but being obliged to set out for the army, he trusted the discharge of this duty with Piso, his

U. C. 746.

Tiberius Claudius Nero, Cn. Calpurnius.

Aug. 21mo.
Ætat. 55.

¹⁶ Surge, Carnifex.

¹⁷ The same year in which Mæcenas died put a period likewise to the life of Horace. That of Virgil ended about ten years before. Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 7.

BOOK VI. colleague in the Consulate, and with Caius, the eldest of the Emperor's sons.

This solemnity received a great addition from the sports and entertainments which were given at the same time by the Emperor himself, to celebrate the memory of Agrippa, at the opening of the portico, of the hall, and of the pleasure-grounds which had been bequeathed by that officer to the Roman People¹⁸. Gladiators were exhibited at first in simple pairs, afterwards in numerous parties, that fought as in real battles. Such was the ferocity of the Romans in the choice of amusements, even after the character of the people ceased to be military, and when the public entertainments, formerly perhaps in part intended as nurseries for soldiers, had no longer any other object than that of ministering to their pleasure.

The Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, though yet too young for business of State, began to feel the spur of ambition, and were alarmed at the advancement of Livia's family. Even their own step-father, Tiberius, they were taught to consider as a rival in consideration and power. And it is said, that, in order to keep pace with him in his advancement to public honors, the youngest of the two brothers made application to be vested with the dignity of Consul. The proposal was received by the People with applause, but discouraged by the Emperor; who, reflecting, as he pretended, on the presumption of his own youth, or on the necessity of the

¹⁸ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 8.

times which had brought himself forward into this station at an improper age, was pleased to say, "That he hoped never again to see a time when the office of Consul must be intrusted to a person under twenty." To pacify the young man under this disappointment, he was advanced to the dignity of the priesthood, got admission into the Senate, and had a place among the members of that body at the public theatre.

Soon after this date Tiberius, probably in consequence of the jealousy he had thus given to the Emperor's adopted sons, underwent a great and a sudden change in the state of his fortunes. Upon his return from the campaign on the Rhine, he was vested with the character of Tribune of the People for five years; and, under pretence of a war likely to arise on the Euphrates, from the defection of the King of Armenia, who was disposed to join the Parthians, he was appointed to command the armies in Syria; but it soon after appeared, that this preferment and change of station were devised to conceal a species of exile or removal from the court.

At his departure from Rome, he passed into Asia; but, instead of continuing his route to his pretended destination in Syria, he withdrew to the island of Rhodes, where, under pretence of study, he lived some years in retirement.

The real cause of this retreat of Tiberius, whether the jealousies of the young Cæsars, the misconduct of Julia, or any other offence taken by the Emperor himself, was never known, and we are deprived of any light which might have been

CHAP.

IV.

U. C. 747.

D. Lelius

Balbus,

C. Antistius

Vetus.

Aug. 22do,

Ætat. 56.

U. C. 748.

Imperator

Cæsar 12mo,

P. Cornelius

Sylla.

Aug. 23tio,

Ætat. 57.

BOOK

VI.

U. C. 749.

C. Calvinus
Sabinus,L. Passienus
Rufus.

Aug. 24to,

Ætat. 58.

U. C. 750.

L. Cornelius
Lentulus,M. Valerius
Messala.

Aug. 25to,

Ætat. 59.

U. C. 751.

Imperator

Cæsar 13tio,

Ab M. Plau-
tus Silanus,

Caninius

Gallus.

Aug. 26to,

Ætat. 60.

thrown by Dio Cassius on this, or the transactions of some of the succeeding years, by a manifest breach in the text of his history. This defect is very imperfectly supplied from Xiphilinus, Zonaras or any other of the abbreviators or copiers of this historian.

In collecting from such authors, what is little more than the names of Consuls, which serve to mark the progress of dates, we learn, that in the first year after the retirement of Tiberius, the Emperor himself having persisted, for seventeen years preceding this date, in rejecting the office of ordinary Consul, now again accepted of it; that he intended, in this character, to solemnize the admission of his sons Caius and Lucius to the age of manhood¹⁹; that the ceremony was accordingly performed with respect to the eldest, who now assumed the ordinary dress of a man, was brought into the Senate, and declared chief of the Roman youth²⁰; but with respect to the youngest, that it was deferred till about three years afterwards, when the Emperor again appeared in the character of Consul.

In one of the years of this period, or about the year of Rome seven hundred and fifty-one, is fixed by the vulgar computation the commencement of our æra at the birth of Christ; an event, not calculated to have an immediate influence on the transactions of state, or to make a part in the materials

¹⁹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 26.

²⁰ Zonaras, lib. x. c. 35.

of political history, though destined to produce, in a few ages, a great change in the institutions, manners, and general character of nations. C H A P. IV.

At this date, from the imperfect records which remain, we have scarcely any materials of history, besides the occurrences of the court, and the city of Rome; the public entertainments that were given, the occasions on which they were exhibited, and the provision that was made in the capital for the subsistence and pleasure of an idle and profligate populace.

The Emperor having again assumed the office of ordinary Consul, that he might preside at the admission of his younger adopted son, Lucius Cæsar, to the age of manhood, continued to hold the office no longer than was necessary for this purpose. He exhibited magnificent shows as usual upon this occasion, and among others, one that is mentioned probably as a novelty, a shoal of six - and - thirty crocodiles of uncommon size, turned out to be hunted or fished in the basin of the Circus Flaminius²¹. While the Emperor gratified the People in their public diversions to a degree of debauch, he made some attempts to regulate the gratuitous distribution of corn, that other principal engine of abuse which the Roman citizens, though in other respects fallen from their sovereignty, still carefully retained among the relics of their democratical government.

The People of Rome, so long as they could over-

²¹ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 10.

BOOK VI. awe the Senate by their assemblies or tumults, and so long as they had the disposal of preferments and honors, bartered their suffrages for sports and distributions of corn. For these too, they were now willing to sell their submission to the present establishment, and it was undoubtedly more safe to have deprived them of every other prerogative, than to restrain them in these. The numbers that were accustomed to receive corn at the public granaries, as we may judge from the number of two hundred thousand, to which it was now proposed to reduce them, had increased to an immoderate height; and as the circumstance of being subsisted gratuitously, encouraged idleness, so the very attendance required at these monthly distributions gave a considerable interruption to labor. The Emperor endeavoured to apply some correction to both these evils, by reducing the number of pensioners, and by limiting the times of distribution to three particular terms in the year²². But in making this attempt he received so many complaints, that he was obliged to lay aside the design.

A populace thus supported in idleness must likewise be amused, and they received, in this particular, from their masters, whether acting from choice or policy, not only in the first period, but, in the subsequent ages of this monarchy, the most lavish indulgence. By Augustus in person, they were presented at different times with four capital exhibitions, consisting of all the entertainments in

²² Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 10.

which they were known to delight, and with three-and-twenty great festivals, solemnized in honor of some other persons, as of his father Julius Cæsar, of his nephew Marcellus, of his friend Agrippa, and of his young relations now entering into manhood, and coming to the possession of public honors.

The sports themselves, though fierce and irrational in many instances, were splendid, magnificent, and sometimes interesting. The presence of the Roman People, in vast spaces or theatres fitted up to receive them, was always awful and sublime. The precedence of rank at these entertainments, was considered, even under the republic, as a principal object of state. The first benches were reserved for the Senators; the next, at certain periods, had been allotted to the Equestrian order; and the question, whether this order should be mixed with the People, or separated from them, made a subject at different times of much dispute and contention. The female sex too had their places, though at the fights of gladiators they were removed to a distance, being seated behind the other spectators; and from the athletic games were excluded altogether²¹.

The coarseness, nevertheless, of those public entertainments to which the Roman women were still admitted; the want of any interval, in their manners, between a rigorous severity, and the other extreme of an unbounded licence, had, in many instances, the worst effect on their conduct. The

²¹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 44.

B O O K VI. Emperor himself had a distressing example of this effect in his own family, by the flagrant debaucheries of his daughter Julia, who, having once quitted the reserve, and broke through the austerities of her father's house, had no longer any restraints of decency or established propriety to regulate her behaviour. It was reported, that without any pretence of seduction, affection, or choice, she multiplied her paramours indefinitely, and even frequented the places of public debauch.

The Emperor, though not supposed to be wanting in the tenderness of a parent, upon the detection of these disorders, proceeded against his daughter more with the rigor of an offended magistrate, than with the reluctant severity of a father. In the first transport of his passion, he hastened to lay her accusation before the Senate, and obtained from this assembly an act of banishment against her, by which she was removed to a small island on the coast, reduced to low diet, and forbid to receive any visits; a species of imprisonment, which became common in the sequel of this, and the subsequent reigns.

Scribonia, the mother of this unhappy exile, now arrived at a great age, and preserving, in a state of separation from her husband, an unblemished reputation, gave way to the feelings of nature, and followed her child into this place of retreat or imprisonment. The father too, upon reflection, grievously lamented his rashness, in publishing, by a reference to the Senate, the scandal of his own house, and bitterly regretted the severity by which

he had empoisoned and rendered incurable the wounds of his own family. *If Agrippa or Mæcenæ had lived*, he was heard to say, *I should have been restrained from this act of imprudence* ²⁴.

In the sequel of this transaction, he indulged his resentment with less struggle against the supposed partners of his daughter's guilt; ordered Julius Antonius, with some other persons of high rank involved in the same charge, to be put to death. With respect to one of these criminals, who happened to be vested with the character of Tribune, he affected a regard to the ancient laws of the republic, and was pleased to respite the execution of the sentence, until the time of his office as Tribune should expire. Being told that Phœbé, the freed-woman and confident of Julia, when she heard of her mistress' fate, had put herself to death; *I had rather be the father of Phœbé*, he said, *than of Julia*.

Persons who were disposed to pay their court, ever ready to seize the opportunity, took occasion to flatter the Emperor, even on occasion of this painful transaction. They hastened to show themselves in a situation like that of the prince, and to offer him the consolation of fellow-sufferers in the distress he endured; made complaints in the Senate of the licence of their daughters and of their wives, and even raked up particulars of a very obsolete date. They too brought formal prosecutions, in order to obtain the interposition of law and public authority, to restrain the disorders of

²⁴ Seneca de Ben. c. 32.

B O O K their children; but the Emperor received this species of courtship with indifference, and refused to hear any accusation, of which the subject had preceded a fixed and very recent date ²⁵.

VI.

U. C. 752. We are left at a loss for the sequel of this history, during the two years that immediately followed; but in a period of which these were the principal transactions, we cannot be surpris'd that the chronicle is defective, nor indeed greatly regret the silence of a few years.

Cassus Cornelius Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Piso.
Aug. 27mo,
Ætat. 61.

U. C. 753. The ordinary administration of Augustus, in pursuing the political, civil, and military forms, which he had established, no doubt was able and successful; but being once described, does not admit of repetition. The more interesting subjects of history, transactions that rouse the passions, and keep in suspense the expectations, the hopes, and the fears of men, were in this reign most carefully avoided. A powerful army was stationed on the Rhine, to keep the peace on that frontier. Even the court was lulled into perfect tranquillity by the want of any competition for the Emperor's favor. This point being fully decided, by the place which was occupied by the Cæsars, Caius, and Lucius; their supposed rival Tiberius, who had been sacrificed to their jealousy, still remained in his exile at Rhodes.

C. Cæsar,
Aug. Nepos,
L. Emilius Paulus.
Aug. 28vo.
Ætat. 62.

The defection of Armenia from the alliance of the Romans to that of the Parthians, the occasion upon which it had been pretended that Tiberius was destined to command in Asia, still subsisted;

²⁵ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 10.

but

but the command of the armies in that part of the world, with the charge of recovering the kingdom of Armenia to its former state of dependance on Rome, was committed to Caius Cæsar, now first in the favor of the Emperor, and highest in the expectations of the People.

It was thought proper, that both the brothers, about this time, should be sent to the command of armies; Caius to that of Syria, and Lucius to Spain; and these removals of the young Cæsars from court were supposed to be devised or procured by the Empress Livia, because they made way, in a little time afterwards, for the recal of her son ²⁶.

But before any resolution taken at court in favor of Tiberius was publicly known, Caius Cæsar, in his way to the East, arrived in Greece, attended by a numerous train of officers. At Chios, he received a visit from Tiberius, professing the most submissive respect to the prince himself, and to the officers of his court; and from thence continued his route through the province of Asia, every where received as the son of the Emperor.

The king of Parthia, upon the arrival of the young Cæsar in his neighbourhood, desired to have a conference with him, and they met on the Euphrates in a small island, each having an equal number of attendants. They afterwards mutually accepted of entertainments from each other in their respective quarters. Phraates agreed not to support the

C H A P.

IV.

U. C. 754.

P. Vinucius

Affinius

Varus.

Aug. 29no,

Ætat. 63.

²⁶ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 103.

BOOK
VI.

Armenians in their defection from the alliance of the Romans, and Caius proceeded to take possession of their country, as a province of Rome. On his approach to Antagera, a place on the frontier of Armenia, the gates being shut against him, he presented himself under the walls, and while he summoned the governor to surrender, was struck by an arrow from the battlements. The wound he received, though in appearance not mortal, affected his health, and threw him into a state of dejection and languor, in which he desired to be recalled from his station and expressed his disgust to affairs of state.

U. C. 755.

L. Ælius

Lamia,

M. Servilius

Nepos.

Aug. 30mo,

Ætat. 64.

Caius being permitted to retire from his command by the Emperor, who was mortified to find in him a pusillanimity so unworthy of the son of Agrippa, and of his own successor, was carried to the coast in a litter, and here embarked for Italy; but having on his way put into a port of Lycia, he died at Lymira in that province.

Lucius, the other grandson of Augustus, by his daughter Julia, died some time before at Marseilles, in his way to Spain; and these deaths happening so opportunely for the family of Livia, laid this designing woman under suspicion of having been active in procuring them. The bodies of the deceased were borne through the provinces by officers of rank, and by the principal inhabitants, to be interred at Rome. Their shields and lances richly adorned with gold, being gifts made to them by the Equestrian order, when they were admitted to

the age of manhood, were hung up as monuments in the hall of the Senate ²⁷. C H A P.
IV.

About this time, the third period of ten years, for which Augustus had accepted of the government, being expired, he went through the form of laying down, and of re-assuming his power.

The People, at one of the entertainments which were given on this occasion, having applied to the Emperor an applauded passage of some poet, with the title of *Lord* or *Master*, he gave signs of displeasure, and on the following day, published a severe edict, forbidding the title of *Master* being given to him by any person, or upon any occasion whatever ²⁸. *My name is Cæsar*, he said, *and not Master*.

Augustus was now in the decline of life, had survived his principal confidants and friends, his nephew and grandchildren, on whom he had rested his hopes. He had been recently dishonored in the conduct of his daughter, and had bound himself, by a formal act of the Senate, to persist in the rigor of his treatment towards her. In these circumstances, it was thought that intercessions in favor of a child must be flattering to the father, and many applications were accordingly made in her behalf; but he remained inexorable, and being guided entirely by the influence of Livia, cast himself upon her family, as a last resource. Under these

²⁷ Zonaras, lib. x. c. 36. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 102, 103. Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 11, 12.

²⁸ Orosius, lib. vi. fine.

B O O K
VI.

circumstances, and from the approach of old age, he was observed to languish, and to lose much of his former vivacity.

Tiberius had been recalled to Rome soon after the departure, and before the death of the two Cæsars. Upon this last event, he was adopted by the Emperor; but on condition, that he himself, though a father, having a son already mentioned of the name of Drusus, by his first wife Vipfania, should nevertheless adopt Germanicus Cæsar, the son of his brother, who being elder than his own son, was intended to have the advantage of seniority in all their future pretensions.

U. C. 756.
Sext. Ælius
Catus,
C. Sentius
Saturnius.
Aug. 31mo,
Ætat. 65.

This successor to Agrippa and his family, being now the adopted son of Augustus, and heir apparent of his fortunes, had every where a numerous attendance of persons who wished to pay their court. Being appointed to his former station, at the head of the armies on the Rhine, his progress through the provinces to that frontier, was marked by the multitudes who flocked from all quarters to receive him. In his first campaign he penetrated to the Weser, and over-ran all the nations of that neighbourhood²⁹.

The Emperor, relying upon his newly adopted son for the conduct of the war on the Rhine, remained at Rome, where he was employed chiefly in reforming the Senate, and in rebuilding the palace which had been lately consumed by fire. In the last of these works, he had offers of assistance from

²⁹ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 104.

many of the Senators, and from persons of his court, who brought him considerable sums in the way of voluntary contributions. Being unwilling, however, to let the burden thus fall entirely upon persons the most attached to himself, he laid a tax of twenty five denarii on each corporation, and a capitation of one denarius on each private person; and having from this fund rebuilt the palace, which had hitherto been accounted a private property, he declared it for the future a public edifice, destined as a mansion for the supreme commander of the army, and head of the empire³⁰.

Ten commissioners being appointed to inspect the rolls of the Senate, and to restore its dignity, the first measure proposed for this purpose was to take away all appearance of constraint, and to leave every member at liberty to resign his seat; but the greater number, either fearing to be marked out as disaffected to the present government, or willing to partake in the bounty of Cæsar, who, in many instances, repaired the fortunes of Senators that were gone to decay, still continued to hold their places, and affected zeal for the forms on which Augustus was pleased to rest his authority.

In this and other instances, it is instructive to observe with what care this sovereign of the empire endeavoured to flatter the vanity of Roman citizens, and to preserve the distinction of ranks, while in reality his policy was calculated to remove all distinctions, to render all ranks equally dependant on

³⁰ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 12, 13.

B O O K

VI.

himself; or, if any distinction were suffered to remain, tended in the sequel, or under his successors, to render the most honorable conditions the least secure.

Augustus had returns made of all the most respectable families in Italy, and of those who had a property of above two hundred sestertia³¹. He laid great restraints on the manumission of slaves; a practice by which he alledged, that the privileges of Romans were rashly prostituted to the refuse of all nations, and to the meanest order of men. The Lex Ælia Sentia, which took its name from one of the Consuls of this year, had for its object, the reformation of this abuse. By this law was fixed the age at which a master should have the power of setting his slave at liberty, and the age of the slave at which he might be set free, together with the mutual rights and privileges of the patron or former master, and of the freed man, or emancipated slave³².

As the present government began to have proscription, as well as expediency on its side, every attempt on the Emperor's life had the criminality of treason, and must have been condemned upon every consideration which established monarchy can suggest. Whoever made such an attempt might be considered as a dangerous and ill advised assassin, who attacked the community itself in the person of its sovereign, and whose crime, in that particular

³¹ About 1600 l.

³² Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 13.

instance, tended to involve the world anew in anarchy and bloodshed.

The privileges or pretensions of citizens, under the republic, were long since effaced. But a very few were left who had enjoyed, or even could remember the existence of them; yet private resentment, or the remains of republican zeal, and the supposed right of every person to repel usurpations, had procured some attempts of this sort during the present reign. Even in this advanced period of it, a conspiracy was detected, in which Cornelius Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, and descended of that Cinna, who, together with Caius Marius, was once at the head of the popular faction, formed a design to suppress the present usurpation of Cæsar, and to restore the republic, in which his ancestors had made so conspicuous a figure.

Augustus was greatly perplexed on the discovery of this plot; and having already, on like occasions, exhausted the means of severity, was now, it is said, persuaded by Livia to try the effects of clemency, and of a generous confidence. "This conduct," she observed, "would tend to disarm his enemies, and would interest numbers in his preservation by the ties of affection and gratitude."

The Emperor, being accordingly prevailed on to take this course, ordered that the conspirator should be introduced to his presence, gave him to understand, that his guilt was discovered, and his accomplices known, remonstrated against an attempt so ungenerous and unprovoked, but relieved the young man of his fears, by assuring him of pardon, and

BOOK
VI.

of every other species of protection for the future. In these assurances he even went beyond what mere clemency required, affected to upbraid the author of a design on his own life with false modesty, in not demanding the honors to which he was justly entitled by his birth; and concluded with saying, That, as he trusted they were from henceforward to be friends, he should be glad to receive his applications in any matter by which he could contribute to his advancement or interest; and, in the mean time, named him for Consul at the next succession to this dignity.

U. C. 757.

Cn. Corne-
lius Cinna
Magnus.

L. Valerius,
Messala Vo-
lusius.

Aug. 32do,
Ætat. 66.

In this year are dated, among other measures, some regulations which were made by the Emperor for the better government of the army; and, what was scarcely less important in the opinion of the times, for the conduct of entertainments in the public theatres. The military establishment consisted of six-and-twenty legions³³, with nine or ten Prætorian bands, composed of a thousand men each. Augustus, to restore the honors of the military character, had from the beginning of his reign, made it a rule to exclude from his armies, as much as possible all emancipated slaves. This exclusion, together with some reformatations which diminished the profits formerly enjoyed by military men, rendered it extremely difficult, upon any sudden emergency, to complete the legions. Augustus found himself obliged to increase his bounty in order to recruit the army; but instead of giving

³³ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 23. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 5.

more to those who enlisted, or increasing his levy-money, he chose to engage them by the hope of future advantages, to be reaped after certain periods of dutiful service. In the Prætorian bands, he made a regulation, that, after sixteen years service, the veteran should be entitled to his dismissal, and a premium of twenty thousand sesterces ³⁴. In the legions, after twelve years service, that he should be entitled to twelve thousand sesterces ³⁵; and, as a fund for these payments, it is probable that the tax of a twentieth on all legacies bequeathed to strangers, heirs of choice, or to distant relations, was imposed about this time. This tax did not extend to the inheritance of the ordinary heir at law, nor to legacies ³⁶ made to the poor, or to persons in indigent circumstances.

With respect to the public entertainments, fresh regulations were made to keep places in the Circus for Senators and Knights, apart from the commons, or lower class of the People.

It being observed, that the office of Ædile, which formerly included the care of all public entertainments, was avoided: and that even the dignity of a vestal, which was wont to be so much desired by the most honorable families at Rome, ceased to be in request, it was decreed, that all the Quæstors of any preceding year should cast lots for the office of Ædile; and that the rules restricting the choice

³⁴ About 160 l.

³⁵ About 100 l.

³⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 24.

B O O K of Vestals to persons of the most noble extraction, should now be considerably relaxed, or
VI. dispensed with; so that women, even descended from enfranchised slaves, might be admitted into this order: a very unlikely way to engage persons of superior rank to adopt it.

This year Agrippa Posthumus came of age, and assumed the dress of manhood; but, though adopted, as his elder brothers had been, into the family of the Emperor, he appears not to have been thought worthy to replace them; and being obscured by the riper age and superior favor of Tiberius, he passed through this ceremony with fewer demonstrations of consideration or respect from the People than had been paid to his brothers.

The public was alarmed with earthquakes and inundations of rivers, which however destructive, were considered more as the presages of future calamities than as present evils, and their significance in that point of view was confirmed by a famine, which immediately followed or accompanied these events. The inundation of the Tiber had overflowed the city for many days, so as to make it necessary to pass through the streets in boats. The markets could not be supplied; and this circumstance, joined to a real scarcity, which kept up the prices after the inundation subsided, occasioned a dearth which lasted for some years.

U. C. 758. During this time of distress, it being thought
M.Æmilius Lepidus, L. Aruntius, ex Kal. impossible to find the usual supply of provisions, it was judged necessary to lessen the usual consump-

C H A P.

IV.

Jul. Calicus
Caius Vibius.
Aug. 33tio,
Ætat. 67.

tion; and for this purpose all gladiators ³⁷, all slaves kept for sale, and all foreigners, except physicians and public teachers, were ordered to be removed a hundred miles from the city ³⁸. Even the servants and attendants of the court were dismissed in great numbers, and a vacation was proclaimed in the courts of justice, in order that as many as could possibly be spared from the city should depart. The attendance of Senators was dispensed with, and the law requiring the presence of certain numbers of that body to give validity to their acts was suspended. Commissioners were named to inspect the markets. All feasting on the birth-day of the Emperor, or on other days of rejoicing, was prohibited; and persons, wont to receive any part of their subsistence in corn from the public granaries, had but half the usual quantity served out to them.

Notwithstanding these measures taken for the relief of the People, their discontents breaking forth in libels and seditious complaints, rewards were published for discovering the authors, and some being detected, were brought to trial, and punished ³⁹.

The Emperor now willing, from the decline of his age, to be relieved of part of the ordinary business of State, intrusted the receiving of foreign ambassadors to three persons whom he chose from the Senate. At the same time himself, with his

³⁷ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 22.

³⁸ Sueton. in August. c. 42.

³⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 26.

B O O K ordinary council, continued to deliberate on all
VI. questions which arose relating to the internal government of the empire. He appears to have committed himself without any prospect of change, to the influence of Livia and her family; and, to confirm him in this disposition, had frequent visits from Tiberius, who, though generally stationed on the frontier of the empire, carefully attended to the state of his interests at Rome, as they stood both with the Emperor and with the People.

In the tide which was thus turned in favor of the Claudian family, the surviving Agrippa seemed to form an insurmountable bar; but this young man, being of a rude and brutal disposition, gave his antagonist every advantage in their supposed competition. Having about this time, given some flagrant proof of this character in his behaviour to Livia, and even to the Emperor himself, he was degraded from his place in the family of Cæsar, and sent, under a military guard, to the island of Planasia, near to Corsica, where he remained a prisoner during the remainder of this reign *.

From the disgrace of Agrippa Posthumus, it was no longer doubtful that Tiberius was destined to inherit the fortunes and power of Augustus. He alone was intrusted wherever great armies were to be assembled, and was employed in every service that was likely to end with lustre. Troubles on the frontier of Asia or Africa were intrusted to other hands; but the harder struggle with the Germans,

* Dio Cass. lib. lv. cap. 32.

Dalmatians, and other fierce nations of Europe, was committed to him. After having penetrated, in his last campaign, to the Weser and the Elbe⁴¹, he was called off to support his nephew and adopted son Germanicus, who, commanding the army on the side of Dalmatia, found himself too weak to execute the service on which he had been employed.

CHAP.
IV.

The provinces east of the Hadriatic, and from thence probably to the Danube, had formed the plan of a general revolt. It was reported, at this time, that those nations could assemble eight hundred thousand men, and that they had two hundred thousand foot properly armed, with nine thousand horse. Being so powerful in point of numbers, they were enabled to divide their strength, and to carry on operations, at the same time, in different places. They destined one part of their force to invade Italy, by Tergesté and Nauportus, an other to take possession of Macedonia; and a third to defend their own possessions at home. They had now joined to their own ferocity a considerable knowledge of the discipline and forms of the Roman legion, and conducted their present design with so much address as to escape observation until it was ripe for execution. They gave the first intimation of their hostile intentions by a general massacre of the Romans, who, as provincial officers or traders, were settled in their country, and cut off all the military posts which had been

U. C. 759.
A. Licinius
Nerva Ælian-
us, Q. Cæci-
lius Metellus
Creticus. Aug.
34to, Ætat. 68.

⁴¹ Dio Cass. lib. lv. c. 27—30.

BOOK VI. advanced to protect them. They entered Macedonia without opposition, and with fire and sword laid waste all the possessions and settlements of the Romans in that province⁴².

U. C. 760. Such was the beginning of a war with the barbarous nations of the northern and eastern frontier of the empire, which, during some ages, was, at intervals, interrupted and resumed, often put Italy itself upon the defensive, was always formidable, and at last fatal to the sovereignty of Rome.

M. Furius Camillus, Sext. Nonius Gentilianus. Aug. 35 to Ætat. 69.

The Romans, by the continual labors of seven centuries, had made their way from the Tiber to the Rhine and the Danube, through the territory of warlike hordes who opposed them, and over forests and rugged ways that were every where to be cleared at the expense of their labor and their blood: but the ways they had made to reach their enemies were now open, in their turns, for enemies to reach them. The ample resources which they had formed by their cultivation increased the temptation to invade them, and facilitated all the means of making war upon their country. By reducing the inhabitants of their provinces, in every part, to pacific subjects, they brought the defence of the empire to depend on a few professional soldiers who composed the legions.

U. C. 716. Under apprehension of these circumstances, Augustus was heard to say, on the present occasion, That if proper measures were not speedily taken for the defence of Italy, an enemy from the Da-

Q. Sulpicius Camerinus, C. Poppæus Sabinus, ex Kal.

⁴² Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 110.

nube and the Rhine might, in ten days, be seen from the battlements of Rome. New levies were accordingly made, and the order not to enlist emancipated slaves was suspended. The veterans, who had been discharged from the legions, were again ordered to repair to their colors; and citizens of every condition were required to furnish, in proportion to their estates or possessions, certain quotas of men for the service.

C H A P.
VI.

Jul. M. Papius
Mutilus, Q.
Poppæus Se-
cundus. Aug.
36to, Ætat. 70.

While the People, under so many symptoms of trepidation, were made sensible of their danger, Augustus seems to have thought it a proper opportunity to renew the part he had often acted in recommending population and marriage. He called together, in separate assemblies, first the married who had families of children, afterwards the barren and the unmarried; and finding the superiority of numbers on the side of the latter, expressed his concern in a public address to the People; enlarged on the consequences of population to the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth; revived the marriage-laws, and, by an act which took its name from Papius and Poppæus⁴¹, Consuls of this year, gave additional rewards to the married, and laid new penalties on celibacy, with a considerable premium to the prosecutor by whom any person should be convicted of this offence.

Before these regulations should be enforced, a year was allowed to the unmarried to change their condition; and the rigor of former laws⁴², re-

⁴¹ Lex Papia Poppæa.

⁴² Lex Voconia.

B O O K VI. specting the inheritance of women, which had hitherto been restricted to a hundred thousand sesterces ⁴⁵, was considerably abated. Females were allowed to inherit a larger sum; and, the better to testify the homage that was paid to female virtue, the Vestals were admitted to partake in the privilege of Roman parents having three children ⁴⁶.

In the mean time, great efforts were made to keep the enemy at a distance, and to fix the seat of the war in their own country. Tiberius advanced for this purpose into Dalmatia, and the Emperor himself set out for Ariminum, that he might be nearer the scene of operations to receive reports, to profit by intelligence, and to give his directions. He had for some time empowered the Senate to continue their proceedings in his absence; as he ceased to attend the Comitia or assemblies of the People, he made free with their privileges; and, under pretence of disorders occasioned by the elections, took upon himself the nomination of magistrates, or signified his choice to the Tribes by a writ of recommendation. Public prayers were now offered for his preservation; and at his departure from the city, as if he were going on a service of great danger to his person, many vows were made, and sacrifices destined to be offered up in case of his safe return ⁴⁷.

Although the force of the empire was not yet

⁴⁵ About 800. l.

⁴⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 1, 2. 10.

⁴⁷ Ibid c. 34.

fallen so low as to justify so much apprehension, the alarm nevertheless continued for three years⁴⁸.

CHAP
IV.

Tiberius upon his arrival in Dalmatia, found the barbarians, who had invaded that country, commanded by two leaders of the names of Bato and Pinetes. He formed his own army into three divisions, commanded by Germanicus, Sylvanus Lepidus, and himself. By this disposition he began his operations in three different quarters at once.

In the service which was committed to Sylvanus Lepidus, he met with little resistance. Where he himself commanded, the Romans were long detained in the blockade of a castle, which being built on a rock, was rendered inaccessible by the height of its situation, and by the depths of the glens and gullies that were formed by the torrents with which it was surrounded. Bato had taken post in this place with a numerous body of his countrymen; and being provided with necessaries, endeavoured to tire out the enemy. But he himself, in the end, being weary of his inactive and hopeless situation, found means to escape, and left the remains of his countrymen, worn out with want and impatience, to surrender at discretion.

U. C. 762.
P. Cornelius
Dolabella, C.
Junius Silanus, ex Kal.
Jul Ser. Cornelius.
Aug. 37mo;
Ætat. 71.

Where Germanicus commanded, the enemy had taken refuge in Anduba, a fortress similarly situated with the former; but which, after repeated attacks, was at last put into his hands by the dissension of the barbarians who defended it. These,

⁴⁸ Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 114.

B O O K VI. having quarrelled, turned their swords mutually against each other. One of the parties set the quarters of their antagonists on fire, and both fell an easy prey to their enemies. Many of the women, to avoid captivity, threw themselves, with their children, into the flames⁴⁹. Bato soon after surrendered himself; and being asked, What tempted him to make war upon the Romans? made answer, “ You affect to treat every nation as your flocks
“ and your property; but you intrust the care of
“ them to ravenous wolves, not to shepherds and
“ their dogs⁵⁰”.

At the close of the war, the title of Imperator, with the triumphal ornaments, were decreed to Tiberius, and to his adopted son Germanicus⁵¹, but in the midst of the rejoicings which were made on this occasion, accounts of a different nature were received from the Rhine.

The Romans, wishing to command the passage of the river, had occupied, as has been observed, some country, and fortified some stations on the German side. By this disposition it was intended, in case the Germans should attempt a descent upon Gaul, that part of the Roman army should be so placed as to remain in their rear. And indeed while they kept possession of the navigation of the river, and of both its banks, they, in some measure, rendered every such attempt impracticable.

⁴⁹ Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 12. 14, 15.

⁵⁰ Ibid. lib. lv. c. 56.

⁵¹ Ibid. lib. lvi. c. 17.

In consequence of this disposition, the Germans had, for some time, discontinued the practice of making incursions into Gaul. They were become familiar with the Roman army that was stationed in their country, exchanged commodities with the Roman traders, and began to imitate their manners.

Such was the state of the nations situated between the Rhine and the Weser, when Quinctilius Varus, who had been left by Tiberius in the command of the German frontier, began to consider the natives of the country around him, as ripe for the ordinary impositions which the Romans laid on their subjects, and made some exactions for the supply of his army.

Some chiefs or leaders of the neighbourhood, particularly Segimerus, prince of the Chatti, and his son Arminius, had observed, with indignation, these encroachments of the Roman general, and the gradual decline of their country into a Roman province. Being at the head of a powerful canton, and much respected by all the nations of that quarter, they entered into a concert to cut off all the Romans that were posted on the German side of the Rhine; and to restore the independence of their People. They concealed their design by redoubling their attention to the Roman general; took their residence in his quarters, and applied to him for decision in all the disputes which arose among the natives; made him acquainted with the weaknesses and the strengths of their country, and served him as guides in

BOOK
VI.

conducting the marches, and in fixing the stations of his army.

While, by these artifices, Segimerus and Arminius lulled the Roman general into perfect security, they had their followers ready to assemble under arms, and brought all the chieftains of their neighbourhood under engagements to join them, as soon as their design should be ripe for execution. They proposed to draw the Roman general into a situation in which he could be attacked with advantage, while they themselves, without giving him any alarm, should have a pretence for advancing towards him with all their forces.

To effect both these purposes, they procured an insurrection of some of the cantons over which Segimerus claimed a supremacy, and implored the assistance of the Roman army in suppressing the revolt. Varus, apprehending that the safety of the Romans, in all their possessions beyond the Rhine, depended on the support he should give to their allies, put his army in motion to quell this pretended rebellion, and advanced through difficult ways into the interior parts of the country. On this march he was attended by Segimerus and Arminius, and supplied with every requisite to promote the service, or to ensure its success. These chiefs had assembled their forces, and brought forth the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, under pretence of acting as irregulars to cover the march of the Roman legions. In performing this service, they pervaded the marshes and woods in his front, on his flanks, and his rear, and had actually surrounded him,

when he came upon the ground on which they
proposed to make their attack. CHAP.
IV.

Here the forests and marshes were extensive and impassable, except by a single tract. The Romans were crowded together, and entangled with their baggage; and being in this condition attacked from every quarter at once, were unable to resist or to escape. Varus succeeded in gaining an opening which appeared at some distance in the woods; and there, with as many as could follow him, attempted to intrench himself; but the greater part of the army fell by the hands of the enemy. At night, seeing no hopes of a retreat, the general himself fell upon his sword, and by his example induced many officers and soldiers to employ the same means of avoiding the cruelties or insults to which they were exposed.

A few having found means to retire under cover of the night, made their way to the Rhine. Here they were received by a party sent upon the first news of their disaster by Asprenas from Gaul, to favor their retreat.

It had been concerted by the Germans, that on the same day every Roman post in their country should be attacked. Lucius Ceditius, who commanded at Aliso, now supposed to be Elfenberg, being surrounded by superior numbers, forced his way through the enemy, and, under the greatest distresses, arrived on the Rhine. All the other posts were forced, and the troops who had occupied them taken or killed. Among the former Calvus, an officer of rank, being a prisoner and in irons, upon some

BOOK VI. insult that was offered to him, struck himself on the head with his chains and expired.

The Romans, on this occasion, lost three entire legions, or about eighteen thousand foot, and a considerable body of horse. Asprenas having remained on the German side of the Rhine only until he had collected the remains of the Roman army which had escaped from this calamity, withdrew into Gaul, and made dispositions to prevent any commotions in that province.

The first accounts of this disaster were received at Rome with the highest degree of consternation. The victorious enemy having cut off what was considered as the strength of the empire on the Rhine, were supposed to be following at the heels of the messenger who brought the news. Guards were posted in different quarters of the city to prevent disorders, and to quiet the fears of the people. A proclamation was issued to suspend the changes usually made in the provincial appointments, and requiring every officer to continue in his present command until express orders were given to the contrary. The sacred records were consulted, to find what religious processions or ceremonies had been performed on the invasion of the Cimbri, and on the breaking out of the Marfic war, and the same rites were now to be repeated. The Emperor put on mourning, and for some months carried in his looks, and in the neglect of his person, every appearance of distress⁵². It was given out that,

⁵² Sueton. in Octav. c. 23.

in the first transport of grief, he struck his head on the wall of his chamber. The Germans and Gauls, that were at Rome, were secured and sent into the islands on the coasts of Italy. All citizens were ordered to arm, and many disappeared from the streets, to avoid being pressed to serve in the legions.

There remained a great army on the establishment of the empire; but this army being dispersed over an extensive frontier in Asia and Africa, it was not supposed that a sufficient force could be brought from thence in time to protect the capital against an enemy who was believed to be hastening to its gates. Very violent means were therefore employed to form an army in Italy, and men were forced under arms by the terror of military execution. The forces which were brought in this manner to the Emperor's standard were placed under the command of Tiberius; and, as fast as they could be put into a regular form, began to move towards Gaul.

In these measures the Romans acted more from their own fears, than from a just apprehension of what was to be expected from the enemy. The most active and vigorous conquerors can seldom act up to the fears of those they have vanquished; and the Germans, on this occasion, content with having freed their own country from the presence of a Roman army, made no attempt to pursue their victory, and remained quiet in their own possessions⁵³.

⁵³ Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 23, 24.

BOOK

VI.

U. C. 763.

M. Æmilius

Lepidus, P.

Statilius

Taurus, ex

Kal. Jul. L.

Cassius Lon-

ginus.

Aug. 38vo,

Ætat. 72.

In the following summer Tiberius and Germanicus, to recover the credit of the Roman arms, having passed the Rhine, laid waste the adjacent country, but not meeting with an enemy, returned without having given occasion to any other signal event. They supposed that the natives were retired from the frontier, in order to tempt them to follow into the forests of that impervious country, and to engage them in difficult situations. But having done enough to enable the capital to recover from its panic, they brought back in Autumn the Roman army into Gaul, and from thence themselves returned into Italy.

In this year Drusus, the son of Tiberius, acted in the capacity of Quæstor; sixteen Prætors were employed. In the year following the number of these magistrates was reduced to twelve. It being alledged that governors of provinces, to preclude the complaints which were often made against them upon their removal, extorted attestations and complimentary addresses from the people they had oppressed, it was enacted, that no governor should receive any honorary gift or attestation from his province, during the continuance of his power, nor sooner than six months after his return to Rome.

The age of the Emperor now led men to think of his successor; and predictions of his death were furnished abroad. This probably gave occasion to the edict which forbade soothsayers to utter predictions relating to the life of any person whatever. Among the circumstances that characterize the

manners of the times, it is said, that Roman knights, or citizens of quality, had permission to exhibit themselves as gladiators ⁵⁴.

C H A P.
IV.

Tiberius, at his return to Rome, after the noted services he had performed on the Save and the Rhine, had a triumphal entry. In ascending the Capitol he dismounted from his carriage, and threw himself at the feet of the Emperor, who stood in the way to receive him ⁵⁵. After the procession was over, shows were exhibited by Germanicus, in which two hundred lions were hunted down; and a portico, which Livia had erected to the memory of Caius and Lucius Cæsar being dedicated about this time, served to increase the solemnity.

U. C. 764.
Germanicus
Cæsar,
C. Fonteius
Capito,
ex Kal. Jul.
C. Vespellius
Varro.
Aug. 39no,
Ætat. 73.

Of the Claudian family, on whom the sovereign power seemed already to devolve, Germanicus, the grandson of Livia by Drusus, the younger of her sons, was most in favor with the People. He was recommended by an appearance of openness and candor in his manners, and by the facility with which he engaged, according to the custom of the ancient republic, in the defence of his clients, and in pleading their causes, whether before the Emperor himself, or before the ordinary judges. Tiberius, on the contrary, seemed to be of a dark and suspicious temper, and was supposed to cover, under the appearances of moderation, which he studied to preserve in public and in presence of the

⁵⁴ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 120. Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 25.

⁵⁵ Sueton. quoted by Piso.

B O O K VI. Emperor, a jealous and cruel disposition. But Liv-
 via, who, in the present period of her husband's
 life, had the entire government of him, preferred
 her son to her grandson, and employed all her in-
 fluence to make the choice of a successor fall on
 Tiberius.

The Emperor, in the mean time, pleased with
 the respite from trouble which these delegates of
 his power endeavoured to procure for him, reposed
 himself much on their care, and was pleased to be
 supplied with every change of amusement or plea-
 sure for which it was known that he had any re-
 lish ⁵⁶. He was attended by agreeable women,
 musicians, comedians, and even declaimers on fa-
 vorite topics in philosophy, who made a part of
 the scene at the close of his ordinary meals. At
 his entertainments he treated the guests with pre-
 sents of dresses, trinkets, or money, and amused
 them with lotteries, in which they had chances that
 entitled them to prizes of different values, or with
 auctions of pictures, in which, the back of the
 picture being turned to the company, they bid
 upon chance ⁵⁷.

Of these pastimes some were probably the amuse-
 ments of the Emperor's old age, and marked the
 decline of life. In his more vigorous years, we
 may suppose him to have been sufficiently occupied
 with the business of State, and with the attention
 which he gave in person to every question that arose

⁵⁶ Sueton. in August. c. 71.

⁵⁷ Ibid. c. 74, 75.

in the government of so extensive an empire. Every transaction was still communicated to him, and dispatched in his name; but from the symptoms which he gave of an inclination to retire from affairs, it is probable that his application was greatly abated. So long as he was accustomed to attend the Senate in person, he generally received, on the days of their meeting, the compliments of the members at his own house or in the forum; from thence was conducted by them to the place of assembly, and, before they proceeded to business, commonly went round a circle of those who were present, and spoke somewhat obliging to each. This particular is mentioned, as a proof of his affability and condescension; but was in reality the highest circumstance of State which he ever assumed. As a private person, in the vigor of life, he suffered himself to be treated as an equal, and made one at the entertainments and parties of pleasure that were made by his friends; but in the decline of life, as he withdrew from the Senate, so he desired to be excused from receiving the visits of the members, or even of his private friends; and, under pretence of being much occupied with the troubles which still subsisted on the frontiers of the empire, he declined going into company upon any occasion whatever^{''}.

C H A P.
IV.

While the Emperor thus, in a great measure, withdrew from the public view, the fourth period of ten years, for which he had accepted of the

U. C. 765.
C. Silius,
L. Munatius
Plancus.
Aug. 40mo,
Ætat. 74.

^{''} Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 26.

BOOK
VI.

government, being about to expire, he again resumed his command with the usual forms, prolonged the tribunitian power in the person of Tiberius for other five years, and permitted his son Drusus from being Quæstor, to be entered on the list of Consuls without passing through the rank of Prætor.

Augustus, in entering upon this new period of his government, in which he was no longer to attend the Senate in person, received from this body, by a formal act, full powers, with the advice of his ordinary council, to determine all questions of State, and, with the concurrence of his adoptive children, to enact laws of equal authority with those he had formerly passed in the Senate. These powers he had already exercised; and we may suppose them to have been thus formally conferred upon him, chiefly that it might be made to appear how far the family of Livia, now included in the same act, were raised to an avowed participation of the imperial authority.

The first consultations of this new legislature were employed on the subject of the penal laws, which having remained without any considerable change from the times of the republic, were still, in respect to the forms of trial, better calculated to protect the subject than to gratify the passions of the sovereign. Banishment, by which, under the republic, criminals were at liberty to evade any sentence, and which, in reality, had nothing grievous besides the circumstance of their being obliged to travel from Rome, and to forego city-preferments

and honors, was, by a regulation now made, rendered more severe, and not suffered to remain, as the courtiers termed it, a mere elusion of justice. Under a sentence of banishment, by this regulation, the exile was no longer at liberty to choose the place of his retreat, nor suffered to retain his effects. He might reside in any island surrounded with fifty miles of sea, and in some islands which were mentioned, as Cos, Rhodes, Lesbos, and Sardinia, though less remote; but he was entirely debarred from the continent. He was allowed to retain of his estate, if it amounted to so much, five hundred thousand sesterces⁵⁹, and might have a ship of a thousand amphoræ⁶⁰, and two boats with twenty servants or slaves; but was not at liberty to pass from one island to another, nor to change the place of his abode.

So far the transition from the jealousy of the citizen against the severities of government, which is a part in the spirit of liberty, to the jealousy of the prince against the licence of his subjects, which equally belongs to monarchy, was abundantly mild; but even this law, under the prospect of its immediate application, gave weight to the chains with which every citizen already felt himself loaded. The subjects of prosecution that were likely to draw the animadversion of a despotic court, were not injuries to society and offences to human

⁵⁹ About 4000 l.

⁶⁰ The amphora, according to Arbuthnot, contained about seven gallons.

BOOK
VI.

nature, which the ingenuous ever wish to shun, as well as to restrain; but rather want of submission or respect, libels, petulant freedoms, and even merit itself, if such as to excite the jealousy of superiors. The new law, indeed, by the directions contained in it to take cognizance of libels and defamatory publications, under the denomination of treason, seemed to point chiefly at this species of guilt; but it was not the law itself, so much as the arbitrary application of it, that was likely to deprive every Roman of that degree of security or personal freedom to which he still had pretensions⁶¹.

U. C. 766.

Sext. Pompeius, Sext. Apuleius.

Aug. 41mo, Ætat. 75.

In the same year mankind had still more reason to be alarmed; Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the government, and declared to have equal power with the Emperor himself in all the provinces within his department⁶². On this occasion the new associate in the empire, to raise his consideration and to amuse the People, exhibited no less than three separate triumphal processions; at the end of which⁶³, there being some disorders subsisting on the side of Dalmatia and Illyricum, which seemed to require his presence; and he being to set out for this province, Augustus was pleased to accompany him on the road to Beneventum. They went to Astura by land; but as Augustus, when the wind was favorable, always preferred going by water, they embarked at this place, and

⁶¹ Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 27, 28. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 72.⁶² Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 121.⁶³ Ibid.

steered for the coast of Campania. On their passage, Augustus was seized with a dysentery, but continued, as on a party of pleasure, to visit the different islands in the bay of Naples. At Capreæ he passed some days with uncommon gaiety, and without appearing to suffer much from his distemper. At Naples he attended the public sports which were given upon his arrival. From thence he continued his route to Beneventum, where Tiberius, being to embark at Brundisium, took his leave, and the Emperor set out on his return to Rome. But finding his strength decline on a sudden, he halted at Nola, a place in which his family had originally some possessions, and at which his father died. From the time of his arrival at this place he refused to listen to any business⁶⁴. On the morning of the 18th of August, he asked if his illness had caused any tumults or insurrections, called for a mirror, and desired to be dressed. He said to those who attended him, "What think you now?" "Have I acted my part properly?" then repeated the form with which actors commonly end the representation of a play, desiring the audience, that if the piece was to their liking they should applaud⁶⁵. "I found," he said, "a city of brick, and changed it into marble." In this he alluded to his policy in the State, as well as to his buildings at Rome.

Augustus died at three in the afternoon of the

⁶⁴ Sueton. in August. c. 100.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

BOOK
VI.

eighteenth of August, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His body was transported from Nola to Bovillæ, carried by the magistrates of the several towns on the route. They moved in the night, and halted by day, to avoid the heat of the season. At Bovillæ it was received and carried forward to Rome, by a numerous company of the equestrian order.

The Senate met to deliberate on the honors to be paid at the funeral; and the members vied with each other in the proposals they made to exalt the dead, and to express their own sorrow⁶⁶. Some proposed, that the funeral procession should pass through a triumphal arch, preceded by the statue of Victory; and that the ceremony should conclude with a solemn dirge, or song of grief, to be performed by the children of all the principal families in Rome. Others moved, that on the day of his funeral the noble Romans should exchange the gold ring, which was the badge of their rank, for one of iron; that the ashes should be collected from the funeral pile by the highest order of priests.

At this funeral, in whatever form it was executed, two orations were pronounced; one by Tiberius, who had been recalled on the near approach of the Emperor's death; the other by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, on whom the name and inheritance of Cæsar had now devolved.

⁶⁶ Sueton. in August. c. 100.

C H A P. V.

The Will of Augustus. — Review of his Reign — And of his Character. — Tiberius returns to Nola. — Issues without delay his Orders throughout the Empire. — In the Senate affects Reluctance to charge himself with the Government. — Mutiny in Pannonia. — On the Rhine. — Second Mutiny on the Arrival of Deputies from the Senate — Imposture of Clemens. — Plot of Libo. — Description of Tiberius. — Death of Germanicus. — And Trial of Piso.

AUGUSTUS had made his will about sixteen months before he died, bequeathing two thirds of his estate to Tiberius, the other third to Livia, with an injunction to take the names of Julia and Augusta. In succession to Livia and her son he substituted the younger Drusus, the son of Tiberius, for a third; and overlooking Claudius, one of the sons of the elder Drusus, and grandson of Livia, he bequeathed the remainder to the brother Germanicus Cæsar and his offspring, already consisting of three sons and as many daughters. To this numerous list of heirs he substituted an

¹ The three sons were Nero, Drusus, and Caius or Caligula; the three daughters Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livia or Livilla.

BOOK
VI.

ostentatious catalogue of principal citizens and Senators. But persisted so much in his severity to the unhappy Julia, as to forbid her a place in his monument. As a legacy to be distributed to the Roman People, he bequeathed four millions of sesterces, or about thirty-three thousand pounds sterling: as a fund for the tribes or wards of the city, to defray their respective corporation-expenses, he bequeathed three millions five hundred thousand sesterces, or about twenty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds sterling; to the Prætorian bands one thousand sesterces, or about eight pounds sterling a man; to the Cohorts of the city five hundred, or about four pounds sterling a man; to the Legions three hundred, or about two pounds ten shillings a man². These sums he ordered to be paid immediately; leaving money in his coffers sufficient for this purpose. Other legacies, of which some did not exceed a hundred and sixty, or a hundred and seventy pounds sterling, he directed to be paid at different times, and alledged the scantiness of his estate, from which his heirs were not likely to draw above a hundred and fifty millions Roman money, or about one million three hundred thousand pounds sterling. The sums which he had received in legacies, amounting to about eleven millions sterling, he had expended in public works.

After his will was read, four separate memorials were produced. The first contained instructions for his funeral; the second, a list of the actions

² Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 32. Tacit Annal. lib. i. c. 8.

which he wished to have recorded on his tomb; the third, a state of the republic, including the military establishment, the distribution of the legions, the revenue, the public disbursements, the money actually lodged in the treasury, the arrears of taxes that were due, with a reference to the persons in whose hands the vouchers were to be found. C H A P. V.

The fourth memorial contained political instructions or maxims, in which he dissuaded the people from the too frequent manumissions of slaves, and from the too easy admission of foreigners to the dignity of Roman citizens; and recommended filling offices of State with persons of experience and reputation. The public service, he observed, never should be intrusted to a single officer, nor all the powers of the commonwealth be suffered to accumulate in the hands of any one person. Such exclusive trusts, he said, must lead to abuse, and end in a scarcity of persons fit to be employed. Such were the arguments of Catulus and Cato, when they pleaded against the exorbitant powers of Pompey and Cæsar; and the reasonings now ascribed to Augustus seem to be borrowed from theirs, and with too little regard to the difference of persons and times.

It is said, that in this memorial the Emperor concluded with an injunction not to attempt any farther conquest, or any farther extension of the empire³.

³ Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 32. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 8.

BOOK
VI.

Such are the principal circumstances upon record, from which we are able to collect the character of this celebrated reign. The immediate effects of it, in many parts, appear to have been splendid and salutary. Among these we are to reckon the cessation of wars, and reformation of government in the Roman provinces. Under this establishment, instead of the Consuls, who, being annually elected by the People, as often renewed the passion of their country for war and conquest, there began a succession of Emperors who were addicted to sloth and sensuality, more than to ambition; or if disposed to war, who in youth, or in some particular period of life, exhausted their passion for military fame, and became from thenceforward a powerful restraint on the ambition of their own officers. These they considered as rivals and objects of jealousy, or as dangerous instruments, ever ready to involve them in wars abroad, to disturb their government at home, or to divert their revenue from those pleasurable applications in which they wished to employ it.

Whatever was lost to citizens of rank or high pretension at Rome, by the establishment of the monarchy, was gained to the other subjects of the empire. The provinces, from being the temporary property of individuals, and stript to enrich a succession of masters, became the continued subjects of a sovereign, who, as often as he understood his own interest, protected them against the oppression of his officers, and spared or nursed them as a continual source of revenue and of power to himself.

While these desirable effects naturally resulted from the new establishment, many circumstances of great lustre in the history of the age were ascribed to the sovereign. The seeds of ingenuity and of liberal arts, which had been sown, and which were already sprung up with so much vigor under the republic, now began to be reaped in a plentiful harvest.

Literature, and all the more agreeable fruits of ingenuity, received under the first Emperor a peculiar degree of attention and encouragement. Augustus was himself a proficient in letters, or, willing to be amused with the pursuits of the learned, read his own productions in the circle of his friends; and, what is more difficult for an author, heard without jealousy the compositions of others, by which his own were probably far excelled. He had saved from the wreck of his enemy's party, protected from the oppression of his own, and selected, as his favorites, the most ingenious men of the times*. By his munificence to these, his own name, as well as that of his minister, has become proverbial in the history of letters, and is deeply inscribed on monuments which can never perish, except by some calamity fatal to mankind.

The provinces greatly diversified in respect to situation, climate, and soil, as well as in respect to the arts which they severally possessed, having

* Horace was saved from the rout of the republican party at Philippi; and Virgil, from among the sufferers ejected from their property, to make way for the army of Cæsar.

BOOK
VI.

the benefit of general peace, and the protection of a common sovereign, reaped the advantage of an easy communication and a flourishing trade. All the surplus wealth of the more cultivated parts of the earth being drawn to the capital, and being at the disposal of single men, was expended in works of magnificence, and if not of utility, at least of splendid caprice. From this fund, were erected those magnificent fabrics, of which the ruins still mark the place on which stood the capital of the western world. The empire, at the same time, in all its parts, received those improvements which are the ordinary attendants of opulence and peace. The lands were cultivated; cities were built, adorned, or enlarged.

The rough and vigorous hands by which this great empire was formed, had carried the balance and the sword of state before they could manage the tools of the more ordinary and inferior arts, and had given empire to their country, before they had provided for themselves the ordinary means of accommodation or pleasure. A Roman citizen was not an artist, but he was a man fit to command every artist. He was possessed of courage, penetration, sagacity, and all the advantages which constitute the personal superiority of one man over another. As a warrior and statesman, he was the reverse of those ingenious and feeble subjects, of whom each professes a particular part in the science or practice of human affairs, but of whom none is qualified to direct the whole.

In proportion, however, as this nation of masters

forced into their service the industrious and the learned in different parts of the earth, the practitioners of every art, and the professors of every science flocked to the capital. Their productions, though spurned and rejected at first, were received by degrees, and in the reign of Augustus found the most ample rewards. By these means, the practice of every art was introduced at Rome, even Romans were taught to become artists and mechanics, and, by following a multiplicity of inferior pursuits and occupations, were taught to lower the haughty spirit of the conquerors of the world, to the level of the nations they had subdued.

In the times immediately preceding the civil wars, foreign letters, though fondly received by many of the first citizens of Rome, were still a novelty, and considered by the People as a foppish affectation. But the leaders in this fashion being the first officers and greatest men of the State, as Lucullus, Cicero, Cato, and Cæsar; such illustrious examples soon removed every prejudice, and engaged, in the pursuit of learning, every talent that could be diverted from the more violent pursuits of ambition or pleasure.

The civil wars for some time retarded the progress of letters; but when brought to an end left the public in possession of the bias it had received. Octavius himself having, in his youth, received this bias, was probably in his patronage of the learned, more led by inclination, and less by mere policy, than he was in other parts of the conduct with which he gained the favorable opinion of the world.

BOOK He loved correctness and accuracy in all his compositions, and never delivered his mind on any serious matter, even in his own family, without memorials or written notes.

VI.

Although the effects of this reign, therefore, in many of the particulars we have mentioned, were the sequel of mere peace, and of the respite which the world began to enjoy from the disorders with which it had been lately afflicted, much likewise may be ascribed to the personal character of the prince. After the secure establishment of his power, his government began to be distinguished by appearances of moderation and justice, supported, in this part of his life with a regular and ordinary tenor, which does not warrant any doubt of his sincerity, or any suspicion of an intention to impose upon the world, some purpose different from that which he professed to have in view.

In his character of legislator, he generally submitted his intended acts to public inspection, encouraged persons of every description to offer amendments, and sometimes adopted those which were offered to him'. In the exercise of the executive power, he took the assistance of a chosen council, with whom he deliberated on the ordinary measures of state. In accepting of the honors which were offered to him, he checked instances of extreme fervility, and acquitted himself with great liberality or moderation in the use of the powers, which the flattery of dying persons frequently gave him over their families and estates. He became the guar-

' Dio Cass. lib. liii. c. 21.

dian, rather than the coheir, of the orphans, with whom he was joined in the father's will. Some he put in the immediate possession of the whole inheritance; others, while under age, he treated as his wards, and brought up with every advantage to the enjoyment of their fortunes, which they often received with considerable additions, made either by his care or by his bounty.

But what is of all other circumstances most peculiarly characteristic of this reign, was the judgement and address with which the Emperor repressed the licence of the military, to whom he owed his own elevation; the artful policy by which he affected to restore some fragments of the civil government that he himself had broken down, and the caution with which he retained the character and profession of a civil magistrate and of a citizen, while he governed as master. Joined to these, we may reckon the able choice which he made of officers fit to be trusted in the different departments of the public service; the constancy with which he persevered in employing them, and the liberality with which he made them feel that the prosperity of his fortunes was their own. While he gave these indications of a great mind, possessed these powerful supports of a prosperous life, he dispensed with much of the flattery that is paid to princes, and in conversation encouraged the manners of a free and equal society⁶.

How then are we to decide upon his character,

⁶ Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 43.

B O O K marked by appearances of perfidy, cruelty, and
VI. even of cowardice in some parts of his life, distinguished by moderation, clemency and steadiness in other parts of it? Are we to suppose what the Emperor Julian insinuates⁷, that Octavius received in the later period of his life new lights, was become a new man, and that, by the lessons of Zeno, at an earlier period, this Cameleon might have fixed his color, and been from the first, what he appeared to be in the last state of his fortunes, a real friend to mankind? The authority of Julian, no doubt, is highly respectable; but if a person in youth carry the marks of a bad disposition, and deliberately commit atrocious actions when his interest required them, we are still warranted to question the sincerity of his conversion, though, in a different state of his interest, even the whole tenor of his life should change.

Octavius does not appear to have had from nature, in any high degree, those dispositions to benevolence or malice which are the great distinguishing principles of virtue and vice. He seems to have been indifferent to mankind; but desirous of consideration and power, as objects of interest to himself. His ruling passion was a desire to reign. In his way to this end, he committed many crimes; but having once effected his purpose, he had no other criminal dispositions to gratify: or, after he was sovereign, standing in awe of a free spirit which he durst not insult, he, either from inclination or

⁷ Vid. Cæsars of Julian.

policy, and probably in part from both, preferred, as it is surprising that every one else does not prefer, the proper use of his power to the abuse of it. C H A P.
V.

Upon this principle, in a life so varied as that of Octavius, appearances of cruelty and of clemency, of caution and of enterprize, of violence and of moderation, may have equally found a place in the course of his actions. And in his person, we may read the same character of ambitious design, when he affected to join the Senate in restoring the republic, or when he signed a warrant for the murder of those who were inclined to support that form of government; when he courted the protection of Cicero against Antony, or when he sacrificed the life of Cicero to the resentments of his enemy; when he made or broke off his treaties of marriage, and sought for aids to his ambition, even in the choice of his licentious amours; when he pardoned, and when he executed those who were detected in designs against his own life.

If we state ourselves therefore as judges on the solemn appeal which Augustus on his death-bed made to the sense of the world, it is probable, that as he was in some degree able to redeem, in the administration of his sovereignty, the enormities which he had committed in obtaining it, we shall not bestow upon him neither the epithets of reproach and of infamy, which he appears to have deserved in the early period of his life, nor those terms of encomium and praise, which he seems to have merited in the longer and more elevated parts of his reign. Neither the friend nor the enemy of mankind,

BOOK
VI.

he was, by his personal and interested ambition, the cause of harm and of good; but upon the whole, if the history of the establishment made by him were to terminate with his own life; if the tranquillity of his reign be compared with the troubles of the preceding period, it will furnish, to those who contend for the preference of despotical government, an occasion of triumph.

Justice and peace are at all times the great objects of attention and care to mankind; but the degree in which they can be obtained, and the means which may be employed to obtain them, are different in different circumstances; different on the supposition of small or extensive states, of poor or of rich nations; and, in some circumstances, they may no doubt be better obtained by the wisdom and discretion of a single person, than by any system of public councils or popular assemblies, which the people to be governed are themselves fit to compose. When this is the case, it is fortunate that single men are found, who, without any criminal inclinations, are willing to undertake the government of nations. A succession of such characters, indeed, is more than human nature, by any known rule of substitution, whether by inheritance or by election, can continue to furnish. It is well, if, in a series of ages, where the government of the world is committed to the discretion of an individual, the good in any degree compensate the bad.

As Augustus had, to the last moment of his reign, affected to hold the sovereignty by a mere temporary appointment, he could not, in consistence with

his own professions, either name a successor, or dispose of the empire as the inheritance of his family. At his death, therefore, some persons might hope to see the commonwealth restored; others might wish to see the late contest for dominion revived, and many questions might have arisen, that would have involved the empire in fresh trouble. These questions, however, with the projects or hopes that might be founded upon them, were in a great measure prevented, by the precaution which Livia had taken in having her son Tiberius, during the lifetime of the late Emperor, associated with himself in the government.

When Augustus was seized with his last illness, Tiberius, in the capacity of his associate in the empire, as has been mentioned, set out for the armies in Dalmatia; but he received on his way, a message from his mother, intimating the last symptoms of approaching death in her husband. Upon this intimation, he returned to Nola, and arrived either before Augustus expired, or before his death was publicly known, and having given out, that, in a conference with that experienced prince, he had received his last instructions for the government of the empire^{*}, he took hold of the reins the moment the other was supposed to have dropped them, assumed his usual imperial guards, and, by sending orders to all the provinces and military stations, took upon him to continue the same model of

^{*} Sueton. in vit. Tiber. c. 21.

BOOK
VI.

government, without any cessation or interval whatever⁹.

The new Emperor, with the usual precaution to stifle competitors, ordered Agrippa, the surviving grandson of Augustus, to be put to death, and took every other effectual measure to secure his own accession. At the same time, either in imitation of the cautious policy of the late Emperor, or in pursuance of that hypocrisy and dissimulation to which he himself had been long accustomed, and to which he was naturally inclined, he affected, in his correspondence with the Senate, to pay the utmost deference to their authority, and, in his letters, took care to employ all the modest expressions of a private citizen.

Being Tribune of the People, he ventured only in this capacity, he said, to call upon the Senate to give their orders respecting the funeral of Augustus. For his own part, he had taken his place by the corpse of the deceased, and in nothing else could take any public function upon him. The Senate, he continued, would be pleased to order the guards that might be necessary to preserve the peace, and they would take every other precaution for the regular performance of this solemn duty.

When the funeral was over, and the Senate was assembled for the opening of the will and memorials of the late Emperor, Tiberius delivered himself in a voice, interrupted with sighs and tears; he observed, that a heavy burden, by the death of the only

⁹ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 3.

person who was able to bear it, had now devolved upon them all; that having himself been admitted to some share in the government, he had learned how arduous a task it was to be charged with the whole of it, and had learned to make a proper estimate of his own abilities¹⁰; but that in a state which could boast of so many illustrious men, they could not be limited in their choice, nor obliged to commit to one, what was sufficient to occupy the talents and abilities of many.

While he spoke to this purpose, and observed the aspect of his audience, frowning particularly upon those who gave any signs of assent, his known reputation for falshood, the inconsistency of his actions with the professions which he now made, the murder of Agrippa, and the military guard which attended his person, effectually preserved the members who were present from becoming the dupes of a dissimulation, which it was equally dangerous to reject too abruptly, or to mistake for sincerity.

Most of the members, though sufficiently trained in the school of Augustus, to know the part they were to act on such occasions, had not yet performed this part upon such dangerous ground. They affected to believe that Tiberius was sincere, lamented that there should be any reluctance to accept of the government in the only person who was qualified to undertake it, and they beseeched him not to desert the republic in this extremity.

¹⁰ *Varie differebat de magnitudine imperii sua modestia.*
TACIT.

BOOK
VI.

As the Senators vied with each other in these feigned importunities, Tiberius seemed to be distressed, though not persuaded; and after he had remained some time undecided, in the end, as weary and silenced, though not convinced, he withdrew without making any reply, or without waiting for any formal resolution of the Senate. In passing through the crowd, he was heard to say, "That a heavy load indeed had been laid on his shoulders, but that it could not be expected he was to bear it for ever; that old age at least must soon entitle him to respite." At the same time, those who were supposed to be most in his confidence, gave out, that his concern for the public, and the entreaties of the Senate, had prevailed upon him to accept of the government; but the ridicule, which it was not permitted the Senators to observe, was seized by the People. "Few men," it was said, "can perform all that they undertake; but this man, with a wonderful modesty, refuses to undertake even what he performs."¹¹

While Tiberius, with so much palpable and even unnecessary craft, acted this farce in the Senate, his title to the sovereignty underwent a more serious discussion in the provinces. The legions which were posted in different stations, though long confined under the authority of an able reign to the strictest duties and ordinary advantages of their profession, still retained the impression of their own importance, and of their power to dispose of the

¹¹ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 24. Dio Cass. lib. lvii. c. 1.
empire.

empire. They recollected what some of them might have seen, and all of them had heard, of times in which they were courted by their leaders, retained with presents or gratuities, and rewarded at the expiration of their service with grants of land, and settlements in the richest and most cultivated districts of Italy. They had waited with impatience for an opportunity to give a new master to the world, and hoped that, in performing this service, they might recover their consequence, and be entitled to rewards, such as military men had formerly received.

It cannot be doubted, that if there had been any officer at the head of the principal armies on the Rhine or the Danube, prepared to avail himself of this disposition of the army, the sword in the present, as in many other instances, must have decided who was to succeed in the throne of Cæsar; but Augustus having, in the choice of provincial and military commanders, guarded against any danger to his own government, had by the same means provided for the security of his successors. The persons he employed, besides those of his own family, who depended entirely upon himself, were, for the most part, men of moderate ambition or mean pretensions; so that there was not now any person of rank prepared to take part in the revolts of the army.

Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, might, by his popularity and by his pretensions, have become a formidable rival to his uncle, but was restrained by his moderation and the sense

B O O K of his duty. A mutinous spirit nevertheless broke
 VI. out first in Pannonia, where three legions were commanded by Junius Blæsus; and afterwards on the Rhine, where a great division of the Roman armies, consisting of eight legions, were distributed in different stations, under the chief command of Germanicus himself.

The troops, not having at any of their stations persons who were qualified to direct their discontents against the succession of Tiberius, clamored only for an augmentation of pay, and an earlier discharge from the service, than, by the regulations of the former reign, they were allowed to expect. "Doomed," they said, "to drag out a life
 "of hard service for thirty or forty years, and at
 "the end, as their reward, to be banished to some
 "barren mountain or sickly morass, which, under
 "the name of a settlement or grant of land, they
 "were required to cultivate or to drain, it was
 "time that some regard should be paid to their
 "merits, some relief provided for their sufferings." They contrasted their own condition, for ever stationed in the presence of ferocious enemies, and subsisting on ten Asses a day, with that of the Prætorian bands, having double their pay, and placed at ease amidst all the comforts and pleasures of the capital.

Excited by these considerations, the legions in Pannonia refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new Emperor, until their grievances should be redressed. They secured their colors, set at liberty all those who were confined for any military

crime, and ceased to obey their officers, or to pay any regard to the ordinary duties and forms of the service.

CHAP.
V.

Tiberius, though greatly alarmed, and sensible that this attack on his authority only needed a fit leader at the head of a few legions to reach him in the capital, and to supplant him in the empire, disguised his apprehensions, and proposing to sooth the discontents of the army, deputed to their quarters his own son Drusus, accompanied by Elius Sejanus, a young man already associated with his father Sejanus, in the command of the Prætorian bands.

These young men, in the capacity of commissioners, attended by many persons of rank and consideration from the city, escorted by two cohorts of chosen men, together with the greater part of the Prætorian cavalry and the German horse, which usually attended the person of the Emperor, set out on their mission. They were furnished with a letter to be read at the head of the troops, but were empowered, without any specific instructions, to take such measures as the occasion might suggest. Having effected their march into Pannonia, and approaching the station of the mutinous legions, they were received in the front of the camp by the whole body, but with an aspect rather of contumacy, than of respect or of duty.

The son of the Emperor was conducted to the platform, from which it was usual for the troops to receive the commands, and to hear the addresses of their general. Having with some difficulty pro-

B O O K
VI.

cured silence, he produced the letter which he had brought from his father, and which he had in charge to be communicated to the legions.

In this letter, Tiberius endeavoured to flatter and to sooth the discontents of the army; but to avoid committing himself too far, spoke of his intentions in general and ambiguous terms. “He might assure these brave legions,” he said, “with whom he himself had so often acted, that they were the principal objects of his care; that as soon as he should recover his mind from his present grief, he would move the Senate to take their just pretensions under consideration; that, in the meanwhile, he had sent his own son, in order, without loss of time, to accommodate them in every thing that depended on himself; that many things must be referred to the Senate, a wise and experienced council, who were not likely to withhold the proper indulgence from those who remained in the discharge of their duty, or to fail in the necessary rigor to those who ventured to depart from it.”

After this letter was read, a centurion, who had undertaken to answer for the legions, made a demand in their name, that their pay should be sixteen Asses a day instead of ten, and that they should be entitled to their discharge at the end of sixteen years, without being obliged, in the usual way, after they were supposed disqualified for the ordinary fatigues of the service, still to remain with their colors.

To these demands, Drusus declined giving any

answer. "The matter should be reported to his
 "father," he said, "and referred to the Senate."
 Upon this reply, a general clamor arose. "Where-
 "fore was he come, if not intrusted to relieve the
 "army? He had no powers to relieve, but he had
 "unlimited powers to distress, and to punish. So
 "the father himself was accustomed to serve them,
 "while he came to elude the prayers of the soldiers,
 "by referring them to some one else, who was at a
 "distance. Are we never," they said, "to see the
 "face of the Emperor? Is he to punish at discre-
 "tion, but never to reward without consent of the
 "Senate? Our rewards, it seems, are to be care-
 "fully weighed and considered; but our fatigues
 "and our punishments, are to be dealt without
 "balance or measure."

In this disposition the assembly broke up, and the
 soldiers went roving about in disorderly parties, in-
 sulting their officers, and affecting to treat the au-
 thority of the Emperor himself with contempt.
 Their presumption, however, was suddenly check-
 ed at night by an eclipse which took place in the
 moon, and which, in their superstitious way of in-
 terpreting natural appearances, formed an emblem
 of their own situation, and by its event was to prog-
 nosticate the sequel of their present attempts. Their
 despondence, during the progress of the eclipse,
 kept pace with the diminution of the moon's light,
 and, as at the time of the greatest obscuration, the
 sky itself was overcast with clouds, and every light
 suppressed in the total darkness of a stormy night,
 they received this event as a supernatural presage

BOOK
VI.

of their own fate, and in despair retired to their tents. They were soon afterwards persuaded to restore the colors which they had removed from their place; and, in order to avert the evils with which they were threatened, to make seasonable offers of submission to the Prince.

It was therefore thought proper, that Drusus should instantly avail himself of this favorable change, and, as much as possible, facilitate the return of the troops to their duty. For this purpose, he called them again to the place of audience, treated their mutiny as a transient fit of humor which was past, and gave them to understand, that, although he was not to be awed by their threats, he was moved by their dutiful and submissive behaviour; that he should dispatch an officer with their requests to the Emperor, and should join his own entreaties to procure them immediate attention, and to obtain every favor that might be consistent with the order of the service.

After the departure of this messenger, the expectations of the legions were fixed entirely upon the return he should bring, and on the effect of the young Cæsar's interposition in their favor. In the mean time, the officers having resumed their command, and being obeyed in all the ordinary duties and forms of the camp, proposed to exert their authority in stifling the remains of a mutinous spirit, which had so far subsided. They accordingly gave orders to seize, and to punish the principal authors of the late disorders.

Under this exertion of power, the troops became

as tame and submissive, as they had lately been refractory and ferocious. To signalize their zeal, some of the most guilty became the informers and instruments of justice against their own accomplices; and the humor from which this revolt proceeded, having sunk as it rose, without any rational plan, the mutiny appeared to be so entirely suppressed, and the discipline of the legions so effectually restored, that Drusus, with his company and the escort which attended them, departed for Italy, without waiting for the return of the officer he had dispatched to the Emperor ¹².

These disorders however were not peculiar to the troops in Pannonia, they broke out with more violence, and a more dangerous tendency among those of the German frontier. On this side, eight legions were placed at two separate stations; one division under Cecina, on the borders of the low countries; the other under Caius Silius, on the Upper Rhine, both under the orders of Germanicus, who being adopted into the family of Cæsar, had been vested by Augustus with the command of these armies, and with the presidency of Gaul. This young man had married Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and of Julia Augusta, by whom he had a numerous issue, a circumstance generally attended with great popular favor among the Romans. He was now attended in his province by his wife Agrippina, with Caius, afterwards better known by the name of Caligula, the youngest of his three

¹² Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 30.

BOOK
VI.

sons, now carried in the arms of the mother. He himself being extremely acceptable to the army, and to the people of the provinces, it was not doubted, that if the empire were to be disposed of, he would have had the wishes of mankind in his favor; and he became upon this account a principal object of jealousy to his adoptive father.

The troops that were stationed on the borders of the low countries under Cecina, comprehended the legions which had been hastily levied, and which, in order the sooner to replace the army that perished with Varus in the unfortunate expedition beyond the Rhine, had been formed without the usual selection. Being in a great measure composed of emancipated slaves, and other persons of mean condition, they had not yet imbibed the sentiments of national and military honor; which Augustus endeavoured to preserve in the legions. They considered themselves, at the death of that Emperor, as discharged from their military oath. They rose against their officers, killed most of the Centurions, and forced Cecina, with the Tribunes, to withdraw from their rage.

The authors of this revolt, probably, flattered themselves that Germanicus, although he did not at first openly countenance their mutiny, might however give way to their desires, and suffer himself to be elevated by their means to the throne of Cæsar. To preserve the appearances of order, until they should receive his commands, they appointed officers to act in place of those they had killed, performed most of the usual military duties, mounted

the ordinary guards, and took the stated precautions, as in the presence of an enemy, for the safety and peace of their camp.

Germanicus, when the accounts of this alarming transaction were brought to him, was occupied in the affairs of the province, and in administering the oaths of allegiance on the accession of Tiberius. Sensible that his own high pretensions exposed him to be suspected of having encouraged these disorders, he repaired without delay to the camp, from which Cecina had been obliged to fly. Upon his approach, he was met by the legions, but instead of the respectful silence that was usual in receiving their commander in chief, was saluted with cries of discontent, and a mixture of expostulation and insult. He was followed by a multitude in the utmost confusion, to that part of the camp at which it was usual to harangue the army. That he might observe the different parts of his audience, or, in case any insult were offered, that he might distinguish the division from whence it came, he gave the signal for the whole to draw up in their legions and cohorts, and to display their colors.

So long as he spoke of the veneration due to the memory of Augustus, and of the glories acquired at the head of these very legions by the present Emperor himself, he was heard with respect and attention; but when he touched on their want of duty, his voice could no longer be heard, and the whole presence was thrown into tumult. Some uncovered their scars, called for the rewards that

B O O K
VI.

were due to their services; others complained of the scantiness of their pay, of their toilsome marches, of their hard labor in forming entrenchments, and in rearing magazines of wood and of forage. "We have followed our colors," said some of the veterans, "above thirty years: Is death the only termination to be hoped for our labors?" They called for the legacy, which they heard was bequeathed to them by Augustus: they invited the prince to declare himself sovereign of the empire, and offered to support his pretensions with their swords.

On this proposal, Germanicus, as if seized with horror, came down from the platform on which he stood, and was hastening to retire, when numbers interposed to stop him. "My duty to the Emperor," he said, "is more precious to me than my life;" and at these words, drawing his sword, he turned the point of it towards his own breast. Some of those who were near, laid hold of his arm; others called out, *let him strike*; and one, in particular, reaching his sword, said, *take this; it is sharper than your own*.

It is not to be questioned, that Germanicus might have led this army into Italy, and with a general consent placed himself at the head of the empire; but he seems to have apprehended the rights of succession in the present Emperor, with all the respect and fidelity that accompany the sentiments of loyalty and duty, under monarchies already established. Being desirous to withdraw from the tumult, and a way being made for him by the

officers of his train, he retired to deliberate on the present alarming state of affairs. C H A P.
V.

The leaders of this mutiny were about to open a correspondence with the legions on the Upper Rhine. The enemy were in sight on the opposite banks of the river, and ready to take advantage of these distractions. Some of the officers present gave it as their opinion, that an army should be formed from the provincial cohorts to overawe the legions; but this was rejected by others, as likely to end in a civil war. Severity, it was observed by some, might exasperate; concession, it was said by others, might breed insolence; and the service was equally exposed to suffer, whether the troops were indulged in all their demands, or in none. It was suggested at last, that by a little artifice, without committing the authority of the Emperor, the demands of the army might be satisfied. For this purpose, it was proposed that a letter should be feigned, as from Tiberius, so dated, that in writing it, he could not be supposed to know of the disorder which now took place; that in this letter, he should be personated, as declaring, by a voluntary act of goodness, his intention to double the legacy bequeathed by Augustus; to fix the entire period of service at twenty years, and that of the ordinary duties at sixteen¹³.

A letter to this purpose being accordingly

¹³ A Roman soldier, after he was exempted from the ordinary duties of the camp, was retained at his colors to encounter the enemy.

B O O K produced , the artifice was suspected , but the
VI. terms were agreed to , provided that the legacies were instantly paid ; that those who had served twenty years should be discharged, and those who had served sixteen years, should be exempted as veterans from the ordinary duties of the camp. Many were accordingly discharged, and the more clamorous were paid up their share of the legacy, with such money as could be collected among the attendants of the prince. Others were persuaded to suffer a delay of payment, until they should come into quarters for the winter.

From this station, Germanicus repaired to that of the Upper Rhine, where with less trouble, and by means of the same gratuities, he prevailed on the legions of that division to withdraw into quarters. A mutiny of the troops on the Weser had broke out at the same time; but was suppressed by the courage and ability of the officer at their head.

It appears , that Tiberius, on hearing of these mutinies on the Rhine and the Weser, had recourse to the Senate, and wished to avail himself of their authority in restoring the discipline of the army. He probably meant, in the name of this body, to inflict the necessary severities, while he reserved to himself the more popular office of granting indulgences, or of making some gracious concessions.

A committee of the Senate, of whom one Munatius Plancus is mentioned as the head, was accordingly sent to the quarters of the army, and

arrived at the *Ara Ubiorum*¹⁴, where Germanicus, with two legions, after quieting the late mutiny, was retired for the winter. As soon as it was known, that deputies were arrived from the Senate, to take cognizance of the state of the army, the soldiers apprehended that the late agreement was to be set aside; that the indulgences granted to them were to be recalled, and that something ungracious was intended, which the Emperor chose to execute in some other name than his own; for so the arts, by which the empire had been governed near fifty years, now began to be understood. In this persuasion, the soldiers, in a riotous manner, assembled round the quarters of their general; and as a signal, that they were not any longer to respect his authority, they tore the imperial standard from thence; and to deter civil officers, for the future, from interposing in their affairs, meant to have murdered Munatius Plancus, and the other deputies of the Senate. These officers, however, took refuge at the colors of one of the legions, where, according to the practice of a Roman army, they had the protection of a sanctuary, and by this means escaped the fate that was intended for them.

Germanicus being still accompanied in his quarters by his wife Agrippina and her infant son, the youngest of his children, and apprehending that they could not be safe in this place of disorder, determined to remove them to some other station,

¹⁴ In the Bishopric of Cologne.

BOOK

VI.

where the troops, remaining in their duty, were likely to afford them protection. At their departure, the soldiers seeing the wife and the infant child of their favorite leader, followed by a numerous train of female attendants, fly from their camp, as from a place in which no respect was to be paid to sex, age, or rank, were struck with the effect of their own violence. Some crowded in the way of this melancholy train, and endeavoured to detain them; while others ran to the husband, and beseeched him to spare the legions so cruel a reproach, as was implied, in his supposing that the wife of Germanicus, the daughter of Agrippa, and the grand-daughter of Cæsar, with her infant child, were obliged to fly for safety from their quarters.

The prince, observing the disposition of the soldiers, seized the opportunity of regaining his authority; and making it a condition that they would return to their duty, complied with their request.

In the first moment of zeal to signalize their affection, multitudes, without knowing the cause of the change, passed with the impetuosity of popular tumults, by a rapid transition, from one extreme to the other, called out for justice on those who had been leaders in the late mutiny; and themselves became willing instruments in punishing such as were pointed out to them as authors of a guilt, in which the whole had been concerned. Germanicus, and the principal officers withdrew from the scene, leaving a Centurion on the platform to preside in this extraordinary course of justice. The

prisoners that were brought to him, were hoisted up into view, and upon the verdict of the multitude, to spare or to punish them, were released, or thrown down from the platform, and suffered immediate death from the hands of their fellow-soldiers.

The same disorders had broken out, and still subsisted at Vetera¹⁵, the station of the fifth and twenty-first legions; but Germanicus being now in condition to enforce his authority, advanced at the head of a powerful army, sent his instructions to Cecina, who was present with the mutinous troops, requiring that they should, of their own accord, bring the guilty to justice; and intimating, that if this were not done before his arrival, he was determined, without distinction of persons, to put the whole to the sword.

On this intimation, a considerable number of the soldiers entered into a concert for executing the vengeance required of them, and at a time appointed, began the slaughter of those who were most forward in the mutiny. As the camp was soon thrown into confusion, it became impossible to make any distinction of persons, and the massacre extended to all those who crowded in the way, and who were not apprized of the design. Germanicus, at his arrival, found the tents stained with blood, the passages strewed with heaps of the slain, and all the appearances of a camp surprised, and of an army put to the sword. Those who remained, affected

¹⁵ Nearly opposite to Cleves.

B O O K VI. for the present to pay respect to the authority of their leaders; but had shown themselves capable of the greatest extremes against their officers, as well as against their fellow-foldiers.

These were the principal difficulties which Tiberius encountered in effecting his succession; he had other alarms in the commencement of his reign, but of inferior moment. Such were the troubles occasioned by the imposture of Clemens, who had been a slave in the service of the posthumous Agrippa, and the conspiracy of Scribonius Libo, who being encouraged by his affinity to the highest names in the republic, had formed some visionary design on the empire.

Clemens upon the death of the late Emperor, had gone to the place at which his master was detained in exile, meant to have conducted him to one of the armies in Gaul, where he made no doubt that the son of Agrippa, and the lineal descendant of Cæsar, would have found a favorable reception; but his design being prevented by the death of this unfortunate young man, he formed a project still more wild and romantic, founded in some resemblance which he himself bore to his deceased master, he took his name, and proposed to personate him. Pretending to have escaped from the cruelty of the usurper Tiberius, he frequently changed his place, and affected concealment; but suffered himself to be seen by those who were likely to be imposed upon, and to afford him protection and support. He was accordingly favored by many persons of consequence, who were either deceived, or willing to countenance

countenance any attempt that was made to disturb the present succession. Among his supposed abettors, however, he had unfortunately one person employed by the Emperor himself, to seduce and to circumvent him. By this emissary affecting to believe his story, and to aid him in asserting his pretensions to the throne, he was delivered over into the hands of his enemies, and was put to death by order of Tiberius, who, it is said, had the barbarous curiosity to visit him, and to examine his likeness to Agrippa before he was executed.

The Emperor was soon after rather amused, than alarmed by the informations he received of the practices of Scribonius Libo, his other competitor for the throne of Cæsar. This young man, being by his mother, the grandson of Pompey, and by his father, the nephew of Scribonia, who was the first wife of Augustus, was consequently the cousin of Julia, and of her children. His affinity to the sovereigns of the world, inspired him with thoughts and expectations above the condition of a subject, and laid him open to the arts of false and designing men, whom the fashion of the times encouraged with the prospect of impunity, and even of rewards.

Such men affecting zeal for the safety of the Emperor, enticed the unwary to engage themselves in some supposed treasonable practice, in order to have the merit of informing against them. In this odious character, a Senator of the name of Firmius Catus, practised upon the weakness of Libo, made him acquainted with professed magicians, astrolo-

B O O K
VI.

gers, and interpreters of dreams, who flattered him with the hopes of empire; and after he was engaged in this idle or criminal correspondence, contrived, by means of one Flaccus Vesculanius, who frequented the court, to give secret information of the whole to the Emperor.

Tiberius, employing all his artifice against this feeble antagonist, refused to see the informer, but directed him to continue his intrigue, and to report the progress of it by the same channel. While he concurred in laying this snare for the unhappy young man, he raised him to the dignity of Prætor, treated him, at the feasts and entertainments of the palace, with uncommon marks of distinction, and took the malicious pleasure of observing how far these flatteries, joined to the hopes of empire that were given him, contributed to swell his presumption.

In the mean time, and possibly before the design of the Emperor, and of his informers, was ripe for execution, Fulcinius Trio, another noted informer, having intimation of the matter from one of the astrologers, who had been consulted by Libo, proposing to snatch the prey from his original accuser, and to have a preferable claim to the reward, carried his discovery directly before the Senate; but the Emperor being present when this information was delivered, did justice to the first informer, confirmed the charge, and with an odious accuracy, enumerated the piteous follies of which Libo had been guilty. The Senators, pretending to be alarmed at such a treason, vied with each

other in expressions of abhorrence, and many of them contended for the honor of conducting the prosecution which was to be formed against the criminal. CHAP. V.

The slaves of the accused, agreeably to a late innovation in the law, were transferred in property to the Emperor, that they might be put to the question, or that they might be received in evidence against their master.

Libo had the first intimation of what had passed, by a party of armed men, who, with orders to seize his person, broke into his house. Terrified by this appearance, he pleaded for mercy; or if this could not be obtained, implored that one of his own servants might be allowed to put an end to his life; and being disappointed in both these requests, he took poison or wounded himself and was in the agonies of death, when, according to Dio Cassius, he was, in order to secure the confiscation of his estate, carried before the Senate to receive his sentence. By the decree which was given, the name and family of Libo were consigned to infamy, and the astrologers, his accomplices, were expelled from Italy, or put to death.

The Emperor, when this sentence passed, affected regret for the unhappy young man, complained of his precipitancy in preventing the effects of mercy, and professed an intention to have spared his life.

From the time at which the mutinies on the Rhine and Danube were suppressed, and from the conclusion of this formal proceeding against Scri-

B O O K

VI.

bonius, as a traitor to the lawful sovereign of the empire, we may date the accession of Tiberius to the throne of Cæsar. He was now in the fifty-sixth year of his age; is described in his person as tall, robust, and healthy; erect in his walk; of a fair complexion, handsome countenance, large eye, but frowning; of few words, and slow of utterance; without any action or gesture while he spoke, besides a kind of involuntary motion with his fingers. His manner, notwithstanding his figure, was so ungracious, that Augustus, in recommending him to public favor, thought proper to make an apology for this defect in his appearance; observing that his ungracious looks were mere accidents in the outward form of his person, not expressions of vice in his temper¹⁶. In his youth, he was addicted to debauchery; but as he advanced to manhood, being in awe of the Emperor, he learned in many things to disguise his inclinations, and acquired a habit of reserve and hypocrisy.

Augustus on all occasions seemed to receive Tiberius with some degree of repugnance; so that when he came into company, the Emperor, if engaged in any pleasurable conversation, changed the subject, and altered his countenance. Though in some degree reconciled to him, or obliged from necessity to employ him in the conduct of his affairs, and though observed sometimes to speak of him even in terms of affection and confidence, yet he gave more frequently, with respect to him, signs

¹⁶ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 21. & Tacit. Annal. lib. i.

of aversion and distrust; and it is not unlikely that he fluctuated to the last in his opinion concerning him. Determined, however, by the influence and intrigues of Livia, or by the relation subsisting between them, he left him in possession of the empire, which he had long intended for persons more nearly related in blood, and more in his favor; but whatever were the motives of his choice such was the belief of a deliberate and selfish design in all the actions of Augustus, that he was by many supposed to have chosen Tiberius, merely, that in the comparison of his own character with that of his successor, the preference might be given to himself.

Before the events which have been mentioned had put Tiberius in full possession of the government, and while he yet affected to decline it, the Consuls, the Senate, and all the principal citizens at Rome, had taken the oath of submission and allegiance. The whole army, and all the provinces soon after followed their example, and the world looked with anxious expectation for the full display of a character, hitherto for the most part wrapped up in reserve, and justly suspected of cruelty. Among the first discoveries that were made of his temper, it appeared that even his mother Livia had mistaken his disposition, or over-rated her own ascendant over him. In procuring the empire to her son, she had joined to the zeal of a mother, a high degree of ambition, and a desire to emerge from a species of obscurity, in which she had lived in the reign of her husband. She flattered herself,

BOOK
VI.

that upon the accession of Tiberius, she was to possess a great part of the Imperial power, or to exercise the whole in his name. Trusting to the deference, which he hitherto affected for all her opinions, or to the gratitude which he owed to her for the high obligations she had conferred upon him, she instantly assumed all the consequence she expected to reap from his greatness, laid aside the caution and reserve which she had ever preserved in the reign of Augustus, advanced into public view, and, as if she had taken possession of the empire for herself, under pretence of bestowing it upon her son, took a principal part in all matters of state, and appeared on solemn occasions with her lictors, and all the other ensigns or formalities of a public station¹⁷.

The Senate, trusting to the mother's supposed knowledge of her son's inclinations, yielded to her in all the prerogatives she was pleased to assume, inserted her name with that of the Emperor in all public acts, and, in the titles of Tiberius, styled him the son of Augusta as well as of Cæsar. They were not however suffered long to remain in this error. They were told by the Emperor with an alarming coldness of manner, which left no doubt of his sincerity, *That the ambition of women should be kept within proper bounds, and that he should always endeavour to prescribe such bounds to his own*¹⁸.

¹⁷ Dio Cass. lib. lvii. c. 12. Ibid. lib. lvi. fine,

¹⁸ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 14.

From the time in which this declaration was made by the Emperor, it appears that Livia entirely dropt her pretensions to any part in the government, and became no less reserved in the reign of her son, than she had been in that of her husband.

As Augustus, in assuming the sovereignty, and in the whole of his reign, was kept in awe by the republican spirit, which he supposed still to lurk with a dangerous violence in the minds of the People; so Tiberius, to the affectation of treading in the steps of his predecessor, joined a great measure of distrust in the dispositions of the people towards himself, and in their predilection for others, who might be supposed more worthy to reign. Among these, he looked upon Germanicus as the first or principal object of his jealousy. He had adopted this young man, merely in compliance with the late Emperor's will, and considered him not only, as he was become by this act of adoption, a rival to his own son, but as he was, by the affection of the people, by the attachment of the army, and the high pretensions of his wife Agrippina, a most dangerous rival to himself. He could not forgive a person to whom the legions had made offers of the empire; and who, for having declined the offer, was deemed the more worthy of it. Although he endeavoured, under professions of the highest regard, to dissemble his feelings, and in making his report to the Senate of the disorders which had lately taken place in the army, spoke of the conduct of his two sons, Germanicus and Drusus, with equal

BOOK
VI.

tenderness and applause; he had nevertheless suffered the retainers of his court to see through this disguise, encouraged them to charge Germanicus with want of capacity or courage on that occasion; and had taken his own resolution to remove him from a situation in which his popularity, the ambition of Agrippina, or the presumption of the troops under his command, might, in a moment, engage him in some dangerous design on the empire.

Upon these motives, therefore, it was proposed to remove Germanicus from the German station, and from the command of troops by whom he was beloved, to the command of an army, inferior in point of character, and to which he was less known, or less an object of favor.

While this resolution was taken at Rome, Germanicus, after the suppression of the late mutinies, that he might not suffer the soldiers to brood over their grievances, give them leisure to renew their complaints, or leave them to languish for want of employment, projected an expedition beyond the Rhine, and passed this river with twelve thousand men of the legions, twenty cohorts of the provinces, and eight *alæ*, or regiments of horse. By this sudden irruption, made before it was known that his troops were willing to obey him, he surprised a great body of barbarians assembled to take advantage of the disorder which they supposed to subsist in the Roman army, dispersed them with great slaughter, continued his march to the famous ground on which Varus had been cut off with his legions; and finding the field still covered with the

unburied bones of the slain, gave directions to have them collected and interred. In this pious office the prince himself mixed with the private men, and put his hand to the work; a circumstance which, when reported at Rome, considerably increased the jealousy of the Emperor. From thence he proposed to invade the territory of Arminius, and to punish that barbarian for his treachery to those unfortunate legions. In execution of this design, being provided with a thousand vessels, he embarked on the Ems, fell down this river to a considerable distance; and having landed on its eastern banks, and over-run the country from thence to the Weser, in his encounter with the natives obtained two considerable victories.

After these operations, Germanicus again returned to his ships in the Ems, and continued his navigation to the sea. Supposing that the mouth of the Rhine was contiguous to that of the Ems, he proposed, by a short voyage on the coast, to pass from the one to the other; and without exposing himself to be harassed in a march by land, to recover his former station on the frontier of Gaul. On this stormy coast, however, having met with difficulties with which neither his vessels nor his mariners were fit to contend, his fleet was dispersed; many of his ships were cast away on the continent, others wrecked on the contiguous islands, and some drove quite into Britain. He himself got on shore on the coast which is now called East-Friesland, and saw with despair the apparent wreck of many vessels of his fleet, which seemed to be lost irrecoverably on the

BOOK
VI.

banks which were left by the sea at low-water. From this disaster, however, he recovered the greater part of his forces. The vessels that were in company with his own, got afloat on the return of the flood, and the troops from on board of them were landed, without any considerable loss. By this escape of his army, he was still in condition to make head against the natives of the country, who, intending to profit by the losses he had recently sustained, were assembled on the Weser; but being surprised by his sudden re-appearance, they fled before him, and separated to their different quarters.

Germanicus, upon his return from this expedition, and while he was meditating a renewal of such operations on the following year, had intimation of the Emperor's intention to remove him from his station on the Rhine. This intimation was accompanied with a message full of the most flattering commendation of his services. He was invited to Rome under pretence of celebrating a triumph, which had been decreed to him for his late victories; and for the purpose of assuming the Consulate, to which he was destined on the approaching year, as colleague to the Emperor himself. As it was supposed, however, that, under an appearance of modesty, or unwilling to withdraw from a hazardous war in which the troops he commanded were still engaged, he might decline accepting of a mere honorary invitation, it was subjoined to these reasons of recal, that the remains of glory, if there were still any to be reaped in that quarter, ought to be reserved for his brother Drusus, there

being no other enemy left from whom to collect CHAP.
his laurels. V.

An invitation to court, accompanied with the last of these considerations, though veiled under so many flattering pretences, was sufficiently understood to be a peremptory command, which Germanicus accordingly obeyed. On his arrival in Italy, only two cohorts or battalions were sent from Rome to receive him. But every circumstance tended to augment the jealousy of the Emperor; the greater part of the Prætorian bands, mingled with multitudes of the People of every sex, condition, and age, advanced of their own accord some miles from the city, and received him with uncommon acclamations of joy¹⁹. Having made his entry, as had been proposed, in triumph, he was, with the Emperor himself, put in nomination for the Consulship of the following year.

The popularity of which Germanicus now appeared to be possessed in the city, was no less mortifying to the Emperor, than his power in the army was supposed to be dangerous. His presence, if it did not obscure the lustre of the Emperor himself, seemed to place him in a continual state of competition with the other son of Tiberius; and the interests of these two princes, the one by adoption, the other by birth, the son of the Emperor, though supposed to be on the best terms with each other, had divided the court.

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, inheriting

¹⁹ Sueton. in Vita Caii.

BOOK
VI.

the blood of Augustus, and ever carrying in her haughty looks the pretensions of the Cæsarian family, was become to Livia, whom she considered as a step-mother, no less an object of animosity, than she was to the Emperor himself. Under these circumstances, the resolution to separate Germanicus from the German armies, and to place him in the command of the eastern provinces, a situation apparently honorable, but in which he should be surrounded with persons who might serve as a restraint, or as spies on his conduct, was now carried into execution. He was vested with a commission to restore the tranquillity of Asia, that was disturbed by some disputes which had arisen on the succession to the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Armenia.

Germanicus, in the end of the third year of the present reign, set out upon this apparently honorable commission. Having a supreme authority in the several provinces through which he was to pass, from the sea of Ionia to the extremities of Egypt and of Syria, he visited, as chief in command, the cities in Greece, still revered as the principal seminaries of philosophy and literature; and upon his entry into Asia, proceeded to execute the commission on which he was sent. He reduced Cappadocia and Commagené to the form of Roman provinces, making some abatement of the taxes formerly paid to their own princes²⁰, and settled Zeno, son to the king of Pontus, on the throne of Armenia. He afterwards ventured to continue his progress into

²⁰ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 56.

Egypt, though contrary to an edict of the late Emperor, which was still in force. On his return from thence he was taken ill, and died at Antioch in the thirty-fourth year of his age, with some suspicions of having been poisoned by Cn. Piso, the Præfect of Syria, not without the connivance or the direction of Tiberius himself ²¹.

It is not to be doubted, that the Emperor looked upon Germanicus with great distrust, and might have sought for opportunities to sacrifice him to his own safety, or to that of his son Drusus; but it does not appear that he proceeded any farther on this occasion, than to remove him from a situation in which he furnished the court with continual occasions of mortification or jealousy, into one that was equally splendid in appearance, but tending to lessen his consequence in the empire; and that he meant only to place him in the command of armies over whom he had no personal influence, and who, if disposed to revolt, were less to be feared than the legions which were formed on the Rhine and the Danube.

In sending Germanicus into Asia, great attention indeed was paid to place in his way as governor of Syria, the province which contained in itself the principal resources of the East, a person more likely to thwart and counteract him in every measure, than to become subservient to his ambition, or to promote his greatness. This intention was rendered extremely evident by the removal of Creticus Silanus,

²¹ Sueton. in Vita Caii, c. 1.

BOOK

VI.

with whom Germanicus was about to contract an alliance by the intermarriage of two of their children, to make way for Piso, a man already unacceptable to Germanicus, and, in general, distinguished by a temper harsh and intractable, or likely to disagree with every superior.

It is likewise extremely probable, that Piso, as well as his wife Plancina, might have learned by their own penetration, that Germanicus and Agrippina had incurred the displeasure of Tiberius and Livia; and that they would not meet with any cordial support at the court of the Emperor, in case of a disagreement with the officers who stood in their way in the provinces.

Some effects of an insolence, founded upon this supposition, appeared in the behaviour of Piso and Plancina, while Germanicus was yet on his way to Asia. Piso, having overtaken the prince, and passing him on the route, without the customary marks of respect or attention, from thenceforward seemed to set him at defiance. At their first interview in Syria, both were extremely guarded, and showed no signs of cordiality or confidence. Piso afterwards endeavoured to pre-occupy the affections of the army in opposition to Germanicus; and had the boldness to march, in contempt of his orders, with a body of troops into Armenia. When the prince was taken ill, it was said, that Piso had spies to observe the progress of his disease, and seemed to await the event, as likely to place himself at the head of all the forces in Asia. Germanicus having recovered from his first fit of illness, had

the conduct of Piso represented to him in such terms, that he ordered him into his presence, declared open enmity against him, and dismissed him the province. But, as he soon after relapsed, he accused Piso of having practised against his life, and charged all his friends, who were present at his death, to bring the author of it to a severe and just retribution.

Piso, hearing of the death of Germanicus, while he was yet on the coast of Asia, betrayed his animosity to the dead by public and indecent demonstrations of joy. He afterwards attempted, by force, to reinstate himself in the province of Syria, from which he had been ordered by Germanicus to depart; but was repulsed by Sentius, who had been chosen by the officers of the prince's train to keep possession of the province till the pleasure of the Emperor should be known.

Upon this event, Piso sent forward his own son to Rome, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the aspersions which were likely to be propagated against him in the city. He himself passed by Illyricum, to pay his court to Drusus, who was then in that province, and to implore his protection. Being received by this prince with coldness, though without prepossession, he from thence continued his voyage into Italy.

Agrippina, arriving soon after at Brundisium with the ashes of her deceased husband, was, by order of the Emperor, received by a great military escort and the honors of war. She passed in a kind of funeral procession through multitudes that were collected

BOOK
VI.

from every part of the country to gaze upon her; and coming to Rome sufficiently impressed with the idea that her husband was poisoned, called for revenge upon the supposed authors of his death. Numbers contended for the honor of carrying her complaints before the tribunals of justice, and of being the accusers of her husband's murderers.

A prosecution soon after commenced against Piso; in which all that was known to be exceptionable in the preceding life and behaviour of the accused, was stated against him by Fulcinus Trio, the person already mentioned as having exercised the trade of informer in the case of Libo. The conduct of the accusation of poisoning, and the other crimes imputed to Piso in his late command, was committed to Vitellius and Veranus, persons peculiarly attached to Germanicus. The trial having begun before the Emperor himself, was afterwards transferred to the Senate. Two days were allowed to the accusers to enforce their charge, and three to the accused to make his defence. The prosecutors brought sufficient evidence of Piso's arrogance and extortion; of much undutiful behaviour to Germanicus himself in Asia; of disobeying his orders; of having made war beyond the limits of his province, but no sufficient evidence of his having made any attempts by poison on the life of the prince. The charge indeed as stated, or laid, was extremely incredible, that Piso should, at the table of Germanicus, and in the midst of servants, attendants, and friends, venture to mix poison in a dish from which numbers were to eat. To
render

render this imputation still more improbable, it was observed, that the dead body had been exposed to public view in the market-place at Antioch, and that no external marks or indications of poison were found.

The principal evidence that was produced of any criminal practice against the prince's life consisted of a collection of human bones, some verses, pieces of lead marked with the name of Germanicus, and other supposed charms, which were found in his quarters, and which were considered as implements of sorcery, employed against the life of the person whose name was inscribed, and against whom they were supposed to take effect if the poison should fail.

The charge of murder, therefore, supported by such evidence, will appear to the modern reader entirely groundless, and must have been rejected even by the tribunal to which it was referred; but the accused seeing that the torrent ran high against him, and probably to prevent the consequences of a formal sentence in the confiscation of his family-estate, cut short the proceedings by a voluntary death; or, as was supposed by many, was secretly put to death by an order from the court, lest his public confession should appear to involve the Emperor himself in the guilt.

On either supposition, the death of Piso being considered as an act of self-condemnation, or as a precaution in Tiberius to prevent a discovery, confirmed the People in their suspicion, that they were jointly concerned in the murder of the favorite prince.

C H A P. V I.

Review of the First Period in the Reign of Tiberius.

— *Applications of penal Law. — Disposition of Tiberius to a recluse Life. — Place and Character of Sejanus. — Death of Drusus, Son of the Emperor. — Retirement of Tiberius to the Island of Capræ. — Jealousy of the Emperor against Agrippina and her Children. — Death of Livia Augusta. — Design formed against Sejanus. — His Death. — Prosecution of his supposed Accomplices. — Artifices — old Age — and Death of Tiberius.*

B O O K
VI.

THE death of Germanicus is considered by some Historians as a remarkable epoch in the present reign¹. Before this event, Tiberius, as if conscious that he held the empire by his good behaviour, was popular in his manners, and guarded in his administration; declined the extravagant honors which were offered to him; was easy of access; affected to live like a private citizen; returned visits, and accepted invitations to entertainments and feasts; visited the sick, attended funerals, and delivered orations in praise of the dead². He treated the titular magistrates of Rome with the

¹ Dio Cass. lib. lvii. c. 13.

² Ibid.

same ceremonious respect that used to be observed in times of the republic; rose, and stood, in the presence of the Consul; took his place in the Senate as a private member; was frequently seen in the courts of justice as an assessor, as an advocate, as an evidence, or as a spectator. To a person who saluted him with the title of *Master*, "Insult me not," he said, "with that odious appellation. I am the master of my slaves, general of the army, and no more than prince, or first in the rolls of the Senate and People." He took the title of Augustus only in his correspondence with foreign powers. In all his addresses, whether to particular members of the Senate, or to this body at large, he was in the highest degree respectful and courteous. When engaged in debate, he endeavoured to qualify contradiction or difference of opinion with respect and regret. To a Senator, named Haterius, on some such occasion, he said, "I hope you will forgive me, if, in my duty as a Senator, I differ from you somewhat too freely." At a meeting of the Senate, in referring some matter to their decision, he concluded with these words. "I have formerly said, and now say, that it becomes the person you have intrusted with so large a share of the public affairs, to consider himself as the servant of this assembly, as the servant of the People, and of every individual; nor do I repent me of this saying; for I have found you, and still find you candid, indulgent, and kind masters¹." He

¹ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 29.

B O O K
VI.

affected a continual deference to their judgment on every subject, whether of policy, revenue, or foreign correspondence; even seemed to wait for their orders in what concerned the command of the army, and pretended to be displeased, when officers, employed in the provinces, made their report directly to himself, without communicating the subject of their dispatches first to the Senate.

With these popular arts, which the Senators indeed did not mistake for a real acknowledgment of their authority, he joined an administration in many things worthy of a wise and exemplary prince; indulged the People in the freedom of speech to which they had been accustomed, saying, "That, in a free country, the mind and the tongue should be free." To those who brought him information of any slander spoken of himself, he affected indifference. "If you mind such accusations as these," he would say, "there will be no end of them." He gave a ready hearing and redress to all the complaints that were made to him from the provinces, and carefully limited the exactions of his officers within the bounds of established and ordinary fees*. To persons suffering by fire, earthquakes, or other public calamities, to the families of decayed Senators, to the children of those who had bequeathed him their estates by will, he was munificent and liberal; took effectual measures to suppress the banditti, which, from the time of the civil wars, still infested the country; and endeavoured

* Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 6—7.

to diminish that constant source of corruption, the idleness which the People contracted in the too frequent repetition of shows and of public entertainments. He gave an abatement of some taxes which had been imposed by the late Emperor, and, in particular, mitigated the penalties which had been erroneously inflicted on celibacy.

Tiberius seemed to have perceived that the severities employed by his predecessor, to enforce marriage, served only to multiply the evils of the times, without administering any effectual remedy to that which was complained of. But what, in this enumeration of examples of his political conduct, would have done him most honor, had he continued to support it in the subsequent part of his reign, was the equanimity with which he rejected many frivolous accusations which were brought against the unwary by his own flatterers, or by the mercenary informers who began to swarm in his time.

In respect to criminal prosecutions, the change of government, which took place at Rome, had, without altering the legal forms, made a fatal change in the effect of the laws, and served to show, that the seeds of despotism may be laid in the freest establishments; and that when the characters of men are changed, the worst abuse may proceed from the best institutions^s.

The securities of majesty, or the restraints provided against treasonable practices, were principal

^s Lex Majestatis. — Majestas est amplitudo & dignitas civitatis. Cicero de Orat. lib. ii. c. 39.

BOOK
VI.

objects in the laws of the republic. The crimes⁶ against which those restraints were provided, were, in reality, a trespass on the majesty of the commonwealth, including rebellion, breach of public trust, betraying the forces of the state to its enemies, or violating the person of the magistrate in the discharge of his office. These were justly reputed an invasion of the rights of the People, were public crimes, and might be prosecuted by any citizen, though not particularly interested in the issue of the trial.

In the time of the republic the prosecution of public crimes was considered as a duty; and the character of an informer, bringing to light what offended the commonwealth, though in some instances invidious, was not reckoned dishonorable⁷. In this character the most respectable and popular citizens sometimes braved the resentment of the most powerful offenders, or, when engaged in private enmities, sought their revenge, without incurring any dishonor as informers, by raising prosecutions on a public account⁸.

The mere permission, however, to become a public accuser, and the credit annexed to this character, were not, in all cases, sufficient to obtain prosecutions, or to prevail upon persons, not called upon by

⁶ Public crimes.

⁷ Private crimes or offences could not be prosecuted by any person besides the party aggrieved, or some person having an interest in the case.

⁸ Plutarch. in Lucullo, initio.

some material interest, to engage in so arduous and often so dangerous a task, as that of urging to justice offenders, who were powerfully supported by their fortunes, their rank, or the number of their adherents and friends. In the latter times of the republic, therefore, as the ardor of zeal for the commonwealth was supposed to wax cold, and motives of ambition and interest were required in aid of public virtue, it was enacted, That whoever convicted a person of any public crime, incurring degradation or forfeiture, should be entitled to succeed to the dignity, whether of Citizen, Knight, or Senator, from which the criminal was degraded. And lest even this consideration should not be sufficient to excite prosecutors, it was enacted, That a fourth part of the estate of the person convicted should be joined to the reward.

The office of an accuser, supported by a pure concern for the public safety, was commendable; but proceeding, in any degree, upon mercenary motives, even under the republic, when the cause to be supported was the majesty of the State itself, must have become, in a high degree, odious and contemptible; but under the present government, when the object of the law, as well as the motive for the application of it, were so much changed, the character of a prosecutor, though disguised under the ancient forms and titles, was, in the highest degree, vile and detestable.

Under the establishment of Augustus, the idea of majesty was transferred from the State itself to the Emperor; and the principal object of the law

B O O K being to guard his person, not only his safety and
VI. the authority of his government, but his most private concerns, made a part in the majesty which was to be preserved. Whatever implied disrespect, whatever alarmed his jealousy, or interfered with his caprice, even intrigues of debauch with women of his family, were constructed as treason. Under a continuation of this government, the evil was inflamed by the pretended zeal of spies and informers, who, partly to pay their court, and partly to merit the rewards which were promised from the confiscation of estates, endeavoured to keep on foot a continual inquisition, in which they brought to trial the most trivial indiscretions, as well as more real offences, against the person, authority, or dignity of the prince. The swarms of such persons who haunted the steps of the unwary, and filled the Senate and the courts of justice with cruel or frivolous prosecutions; in which, by interesting the passions of the Emperor, they endeavoured to make him a party, was one of the most grievous circumstances attending the late revolution of government.

Tiberius, notwithstanding this tendency of the establishment to which he succeeded, and his own temper, which was sufficiently prompt and sanguinary in preventing attempts on his person, or on his government, had the honor during the first years of his reign, in some measure, to withstand this torrent, and to treat many frivolous accusations with a proper degree of contempt. A Senator of the name of Falenius, being accused of having included, with other furniture in the sale of his house, a

statue of Augustus⁹; another, of the name of Rubrius, being accused of having taken a false oath by the name of Augustus; and Granius Marcellus being accused of having taken the head from a statue of that prince, in order to substitute a head of Tiberius in place of it, a manner of paying his court rather ridiculous than criminal; in these and other instances of the same kind, Tiberius either took no part, or gave his instructions to the Senate in very liberal and manly terms. On the subject of the prosecution that was raised against Falenius, "My father," he said, "was deified, that his divinity might be a safeguard and a protection, not a snare to the people. His image may, no doubt, be included, with those of the other gods, as part in the furniture of a house that is sold." With respect to the supposed perjury of Rubrius, he observed, "That if any one swear, and is perjured, the crime is the same, whoever be the God whose name is profaned. Augustus is no more to be regarded, in this matter, than Jupiter; and either of these Gods, if offended, can avenge himself¹⁰." The third offence, or the shifting of heads from one statue to another¹¹, being considered as a mock-

⁹ It is sufficiently known, that, in the heathen mythology, a place among the Gods was sometimes conferred on mortal men; that an apotheosis was little more than canonization is in latter times; and that this honor having been conferred on Augustus, his name and his statue were ranked among those of the Gods.

¹⁰ Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ.

¹¹ Tacit. lib. i. c. 73.

B O O K VI. ery of that adulation which was so easily transferred from one to another in the succession of princes, and as some degree of ridicule on the prince himself, was not so easily forgiven; though, for the present, overlooked, it was reserved as a subject of future resentment.

To whatever motive we ascribe a conduct so popular, and in many particulars so worthy of empire, it is observed, that its effects on the minds of the People were not such as might have been expected, and did not procure to the Emperor the favorable opinion or credit to which he aspired. His manner, even when he affected humanity and condescension, was ungracious and alarming; and, notwithstanding any appearances to the contrary, his real character was supposed to be malicious and cruel. It is said, that in the midst of the hypocrisy and dissimulation by which he had endeavoured to disguise himself before his accession, he made some slips which betrayed the reality of this disposition; and that he had been surprised into acts of insolence and severity; in which, by mixing derision and sarcasm with cruelty, he had given the strongest proofs of a merciless nature. For the present it was observed, that his overacting the part of popularity, the ridiculous tyranny he exercised over the Senate in requiring at once the affectation of freedom and the grossest servility; that the farce of affecting reluctance in accepting of a government which he had previously secured with the greatest care; the ridicule of dividing in the Senate, or giving his vote with the minority, when a resolution was to be

taken in favor of himself, served to join mockery and insult to the weight of his usurpation; that even his affectation of popularity, for the most part, increased the terrors of his government; that his presence in the courts of justice took away all freedom of judgment; and that the discretionary power which he assumed, of mitigating or reversing sentences, and of dispensing with laws, under pretence of correcting their general tendency by seasonable exceptions, only served to frustrate the pretensions to civil government, which, in imitation of Augustus, he still affected to preserve.

But in whatever sense the favorable appearances, which presented themselves in the beginning of this reign, were to be interpreted, they were no more than temporary, and, in the manners of this prince, gave way to the growing asperity of age, or to the presumption which took place in his mind, upon the removal of a person whom he considered as a dangerous rival, and who, in case of any public discontent, might have been made the instrument of overturning his government.

Soon after the death of Germanicus, the temper of Tiberius, which had probably gained strength from restraint, broke forth in many cruel and alarming effects. His vigilance, hitherto limited to one object, and his jealousy, directed against a single person, now found a multiplicity of subjects on which, with less disguise or reserve, to exert their force.

Among the particulars in which the Emperor, in the first period of his reign, imposed the greatest

B O O K

VI.

violence on his own disposition, we may reckon the openness and accessibility which, with a temper naturally dark and reserved, he affected to maintain with the People; and one of the principal circumstances, probably, in which he proposed to indulge himself, on his being relieved from his fears of Germanicus, was in retiring from the public view, and in eluding the observation of persons whom he considered as spies on his actions. In the eighth year of his reign, and in the second year after the death of Germanicus, having associated his son Drusus with himself in the Consulate, and leaving him in the administration of affairs in the city, he withdrew for some time into Campania, meditating, as Tacitus observes, a more entire and continued retreat. During the two first years after his accession he had confined himself to the walls of Rome, and remained in the city, as in the watch-tower, from whence he was to observe and prevent all designs that might be formed on his government. After those years were passed, he made some excursions to Antium¹², and other towns or villages on the same coast, but never to any greater distance. In order, however, that the provincial officers might not think themselves altogether secure from his personal inspection, he frequently, even during this period, affected a purpose to visit the more distant parts of the empire; ordered his equipages, placed changes of horses and carriages, and permitted the usual sacrifices to be offered up for his safe return;

¹² About thirty miles from Rome.

but always, for some specious reason, delayed the execution of his pretended design. After having, in this manner, for some time amused the world, and, by the repetition of these and other artifices, furnished a key to the secret of his own conduct, his mysteries, for the most part became extremely plain, and his true intentions were easily perceived, merely because he never spoke truth.

But while the Emperor thus endeavoured to debar the People from all access to his person, and to seclude himself from public view, he selected, as a proper instrument of his power, and, in appearance, as an object of his most implicit confidence, Ælius Sejanus, who has been already mentioned, as accompanying his son Drusus on his mission to the mutinous legions in Pannonia. This person, supposed to have no dangerous pretensions, or though false to others, supposed true to his master, he had placed at the head of his guards or Prætorian bands, and distinguished him with a degree of affection and confidence hitherto without example in any former part of his life. This being the first of his intimate connexions, whatever may have been its motive, it did not admit of competition or participation, and rendered a person, who was dark and impenetrable to every one else, open and communicative to this favorite alone.

Sejanus is described by Tacitus as of a hardy and indefatigable constitution of body; of a bold spirit and an insatiable ambition, which he disguised under an affectation of modesty. He is described as a person possessed of great art in conceal-

BOOK
VI.

ing his own vices, and of an insidious penetration in prying into those of others; versatile in his manners, and either careless and profuse, or vigilant and severe, as suited the occasion; insolent to those over whom he had any advantage; but fawning where he was the inferior, or had an interest to gain. In his youth he had attached himself to Caius Cæsar, the adopted son of Augustus; and afterwards succeeding his own father, in the station which he now occupied at the head of the Prætorian bands, seemed to improve the access which this situation gave him to the person of the Emperor, into an ascendant over his mind.

One of the first or most observable signs of the great elevation of Sejanus, was the proposed marriage of his daughter with the son of Claudius, the brother of Germanicus; a person, though at this time in a great measure neglected at court, yet nearly related to the Emperor; and, in the sequel of events, himself destined to ascend the Imperial throne.

Sejanus being thus pointed out as favorite, by a mark of honor which tended to gratify his vanity, he took measures, at the same time, the most efficacious to establish his power. For this purpose he employed his credit in filling up with his own creatures, as fast as vacancies happened, the Prætorian bands, the legions, and every civil as well as military department in the State; knowing that where government rests its authority on principles of reason and justice, the Civilian, the Senator, and the Statesman are its principal instruments;

but where it is founded entirely on force, its ministers are soldiers of fortune, and its powers rest chiefly with those military bodies who are in possession of the capital, or who surround the person of the prince. This adventurer, therefore, being already at the head of this powerful department, studied every method to concentrate its force, and to secure in his own person the direction of it. To this motive is imputed the change which he now made in the manner of disposing of the Prætorian bands. These troops were hitherto quartered on the citizens, or distributed in the villages round the walls of the city, apprehending, it is alledged, that they might, in that way of life, imbibe the prejudices of the people, and become part of the families with whom they were mixed, he persuaded the Emperor to detach them from that society; and, under the ordinary pretence of having the cohorts together, and more under the eye of their officers, erected a citadel and barracks for their reception: in this manner establishing in Rome itself, or contiguous to its walls, a fortress from which he could command the city, and employ the professional prejudices of those who occupied this garrison, most effectually against every person that was supposed disaffected to his person. In this disposition, whatever may have been the object of it, there is no doubt that the Prætorian bands became more detached from the People, and that the force and presumption of this formidable body became more tremendous to the other parts of the empire, and even to the Emperor himself.

B O O K

VI.

As Tiberius seemed to set no bounds to his confidence in the minister, and enabled him to employ all the powers of the empire in support of his own elevation, the jealousies or resentments of the favorite became equally fatal with those of his master, and being more numerous, involved the government of the Emperor in perpetual animosities, prosecutions, and cruelties, which may have, for the present, gratified his severe and jealous temper, but which were in no way conducive to his interest.

Under the influence of this connexion, joined to his own disposition, Tiberius gave a ready ear to that numerous tribe of informers, who brought accusations against persons in any degree obnoxious or unacceptable to himself or to his favorite. In this predicament, the descendants of the ancient nobility, persons eminent by their birth, popular favor, or personal qualities, and considered as rivals in the apprehension of either, were the principal sufferers. The perpetual inquisition to which they were exposed, and which makes a principal article in the history of this and some of the succeeding reigns, must, by the frequent repetition of similar examples, become an object of disgust, as well as of indignation or pity. And it may perhaps have been true of this Emperor, that even his character, though itself sufficiently odious, may, for some time at least, have incurred additional detestation, from his having committed his administration into the hands of a servant, who multiplied the errors of his government, or gave them the direction

direction of passions more numerous or less liberal than even those of the master.

C H A P.

VI.

As Sejanus was most vigilant and jealous in exacting observances, it became more dangerous to neglect the attention he required, than even that which was due to the prince. A courtship was accordingly paid to him by the retainers of the palace, by the Senate, by the army, and by the People, more assiduous than even that which they paid to the Emperor. In private, every species of flattery; in public, honorary decrees, were invented to gratify his vanity. The anniversary of his birth was joined to the festivals of the year. His name was inserted in the public prayers; and when any deputation was sent with addresses of respect to the Emperor from the Senate, from the Equestrian order, or from any other public description of men, compliments were at the same time sent to his favorite. The effigies of both were carried together among the ensigns of the legions, and their statues were grouped together in the streets. Women of every rank thought themselves honored by the addresses of this fortunate man, and became the tools of his ambition, or the prostitutes of his pleasure. By debauching the wife, he sometimes obtained intelligence what were the designs or ordinary pursuits of the husband; and by encouraging the zeal of spies and informers, who were now become the favorite retainers of the court, he was enabled to pry into the actions of every citizen, and to watch all the symptoms of disaffection to the Emperor or to himself. Intoxicated with the extra-

BOOK
VI.

ordinary circumstances of his fortune, it is probable that he thought himself placed within reach of the empire, and measured his consequence with that of the persons who apparently stood before him in their pretensions to this elevation. The present Emperor himself had succeeded to the government, not by his birth, but merely by having survived every person on whom his predecessor could rely for support, or through whom, by any line of inheritance, he could transmit his power. Pointed out by mere accident to the choice of Augustus, he had been first adopted into the family of Cæsar, and afterwards associated in the empire.

Sejanus computed that he himself was already possessed of more favor with the reigning Emperor, than Tiberius ever had enjoyed with the person to whom he succeeded; and that there was nothing in the farther progress of his fortune too arduous or difficult for him to undertake. The conduct of the young princes towards him had been provoking, and seemed to justify his resentment. They bore with impatience the intrusion of a rival into the Emperor's favor. Drusus in particular was frequently heard to complain, that his father had chosen a favorite to supplant his own son, and had made a stranger little less than a colleague in the empire; that the steps which remained for Sejanus to make to this elevation were not so many, nor so difficult, as those he had already made. "And we must rely," he said, "on the *modesty* of this man for the bounds he may think proper to set to his farther pretensions."

This favorite had already formed an intrigue with Livia, or Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, married to Drusus. By his intelligence with the wife, he had notice of what passed in the conversations of the husband; and, in concert with this abandoned woman, determined to remove a person from whom he had so much to fear. They took into their confidence, for this purpose, Eudemus a physician, who, under pretence of his profession, had a frequent and a secret access to Livilla; and, after some hesitation, and frequent change of their councils, they found means, by the hands of one Ligdus, a eunuch, to administer poison to the prince, of which he died. The cause of his death, and the circumstances of this daring crime, were not known till about eight years afterwards.

In the mean time Sejanus, encouraged by the success of his first attempt, flattered himself that he might step into the place of the prince whom he had thus removed out of his way; and, in concert with Livilla, with whom he had already lived in habits of adultery, he waited for a decent interval to propose himself to the Emperor as a husband for the widow of his son.

Tiberius, although he had, by his deceased son, a grandson of his own name; yet this young man being still under age, he thought proper, upon the breach which had recently been made in his family, to bring forward the two elder sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, whom he presented to the Senate, as the great-grand-children of Augustus, and the future supports of the commonwealth.

BOOK
VI.

“ These,” he said, addressing himself to the young men, “ are your fathers. Such is the condition of your birth, that whatever concerns you, whether good or evil, must affect the empire.” It is however singular, that this speech, made in behalf of the sons of Germanicus, appears to have awakened the jealousy of the person who made it. Observing that the audience were moved with these expressions, and supposing that the tenderness which was shown to the sons, was a remainder of that popular esteem which, in the father, had given him so much uneasiness, he appeared to be suddenly embarrassed; and, as if he had been reproached with intruding himself into a station which the world wished to have reserved for the parent of these young men, he proceeded to counteract his own apprehensions with his usual affectation of humility and moderation. “ I beseech you” he said to the Senate, “ that I may be allowed, at a proper time, to resign the empire.” And as he was always distrusted, and had the worst construction put on his words, these were supposed to be the expressions of mere embarrassment, and that he was in reality mortified with the demonstrations of joy which were given on this apparent restoration of the family of a favorite prince.

Sejanus, who bore with great impatience the admission of new rivals in the way of his ambition, improved these circumstances in the manner which he knew to be most effectual to awaken the Emperor’s jealousy, and to inflame the animosity already subsisting betwixt the empress Livia and Agrippina,

the widow of Germanicus, and the mother of these young men. The effect of his artifices and insinuations operating on the distrustful mind of the Emperor, first appeared in the destruction of many persons who had been attached to Germanicus, and who still adhered to his family; and afterwards in the ruin of Agrippina herself, and in the death of the two elder of her sons.

The passions of jealousy and distrust, by which the mind of Tiberius was secretly devoured, but which he had endeavoured to conceal in the former part of his life, instead of abating in proportion as he became secure, only became less disguised and more violent in their effects against those who happened to be the objects of them. He listened without reserve to every spy or informer, and, under the pretence of treason, directed prosecutions against every person in any degree exposed to suspicion.

Under such prosecutions the accused, having no hopes to escape from a charge in which the passions of the sovereign were engaged against them, endeavoured, for the most part, to prevent by a voluntary death the confiscation of their estates. And this direful necessity frequently repeated, being imputed to the merciless policy or suggestion of Sejanus, instead of drawing upon him public marks of indignation or hatred, greatly increased the court which was paid to him, and multiplied the professions of public regard.

The Emperor, in the mean time, as he sought for security and peace of mind in a quarter in which they surely are not to be found, in the destruction

BOOK
VI.

of the most innocent objects of his suspicion, felt his odious passion of jealousy ripen into a general hatred of mankind, with a dislike, in particular, to those persons who had been the instruments of his distrust, and with an aversion to the very place at which he had multiplied its cruel effects. Conscious of what he endeavoured to conceal, and of what men were able to penetrate, he was jealous of every prying look, and detested every person whom he thought qualified to distinguish truth from appearances. At one time, he received the crowd of informers who haunted his court, as the most acceptable members of it; at other times, he abhorred them as persons who penetrated his character, and who, to their own advantage, and to the disgrace of his government, were practising upon his weakness. After having resided constantly in the city for many years, he began to multiply and to prolong his visits to some of his favorite retreats in the country, placed guards wherever he went, to keep the curious multitude at a distance, declined the attendance of those who wished to pay their court, and was accessible only to his favorite minister.

Sejanus, still appearing to rise in the confidence of his master on the ruin of every one else, ventured, according to the agreement long since made with Livilla, to propose himself to the Emperor as second husband to the widow of his son. It was the practice of Tiberius to require, even from persons who had daily access to him, that every proposal they made should be put in writing; and it was

his practice likewise to give answers in the same form. Sejanus accordingly presented a memorial to the following purpose: “ That he had been so
 “ long accustomed to look up to Augustus for protection, and to Tiberius for every effect of munificence and goodness, that his wishes and his prayers were carried to them more directly than even to the gods themselves; that the splendor of high fortune had no charms for him; that his delights were in the cares and toils of a soldier, stationed for the defence of the Emperor’s person; that he had nevertheless already attained to the highest honors in the alliance of his family with that of Cæsar¹¹; and from thence probably arose the farther hopes which he ventured to conceive. Augustus, when he deliberated on the marriage of his daughter, had condescended to think of a Roman knight. If a husband, therefore, should be thought of for Livilla, might he not presume to hope that the Emperor would not overlook a person so profoundly attached to him, who coveted nothing, on this occasion, besides the honor of being chosen into this high connexion, and who had no ambition beyond the duties of his trust as a guard to the sacred person of his master. For himself he was willing to perish whenever the Emperor should cease to protect him; but his family had many enemies, and needed to be raised into some such place of advantage, where they might be less

¹¹ The marriage of his son with the daughter of Claudius.

BOOK
VI.

“ exposed to the haughty and imperious insults of
“ Agrippina and her offspring ”. ”

In answer to this memorial, the Emperor acknowledged the merits of his favorite; but did not give him any encouragement on the subject of his request. “ Princes, ” he said, “ were not, like
“ private men, at liberty to follow their own in-
“ clinations, but must consult the opinion of the
“ world; and observed, that, under this restraint,
“ he must, for the present, suppress what he was
“ most inclined to reply. That Livilla might de-
“ termine for herself, whether, having been the wife
“ of Drusus, she was to accept of a second hus-
“ band; or if she had any doubts in the matter, she
“ might consult her mother and her grandmother,
“ fitter counsellors on that occasion than he could
“ pretend to be; that the marriage which Sejanus
“ proposed for himself would not allay the malice
“ of Agrippina, but rather inflame it, and divide
“ the family of Cæsar into parties; that it would
“ be impossible for him, if he should form this al-
“ liance, to remain in his present condition: that
“ Augustus, in deliberating on the choice of a hus-
“ band for his own daughter; because he wished
“ for a son-in-law whose pretensions were not likely
“ to disturb the public peace, had turned his
“ thoughts on some persons of equestrian rank; but
“ that the example, nevertheless, was against Seja-
“ nus; for Augustus did not actually marry his
“ daughter to a Roman knight, but first to Agrip-

* Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 39.

“ pa ; and afterwards to himself.” He concluded with insinuations that he had other views for his friend ; owned that there was nothing too high for his merits ; and his opinion in this matter, he said , he should in a proper time make known to the Senate and to the People ¹⁵.

Sejanus was alarmed by this intricate and ambiguous answer, and dreaded a change of his master’s disposition. He had hitherto excluded every competitor from the Emperor’s favor ; but a temper so prone to suspicion, he knew could be easily turned against him, and would receive encouragement from numbers, as soon as they should see the first signs of distrust. For these reasons, he is said at this time to have formed the design of persuading Tiberius to remove from the city. When at a distance, he trusted that, by means of the guards, who were the bearers of all expresses and messages, he might be master of the Emperor’s correspondence, and prevent the access of every suspicious person. With this view he exaggerated the troubles to which the sovereign was exposed at Rome ; molested with trifles, and crowded, wherever he went, with multitudes of idle or importunate people ; magnifying, at the same time, the pleasures of retirement, where free from the disgust and the avocation of inferior objects, he might bestow his attention on the conduct and result of affairs that were worthy of his notice.

Whatever effect we may suppose the representa-

¹⁵ Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 40.

BOOK
VI.

tions of Sejanus to have had in persuading the Emperor to retire from Rome, it is probable that, in forming this resolution, still more was owing to his own temper. Though deeply tinctured with pride, the inherent vice of his family ¹⁶, Tiberius had not any share of that vanity which leads men to display their fortunes and persons in the view of the world. Content with the gratification of his appetites, and joining hypocrisy with the worst species of sensuality, he could submit to obscurity; and, although the resources of solitude were now diminished by the effects of age, yet a temper become more jealous of the world, and more averse to its notice, inclined him more to withdraw from the city, and to maintain from a distance that watch which he had hitherto kept over the actions, words, and even thoughts of its inhabitants. He accordingly, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of dedicating in Campania a temple to Jupiter and another to Augustus, withdrew from Rome, and after this time during the remainder of his life, under various pretences, but with continual intimations of his intention to return, absented himself from the city. Having performed the ceremonies for which he had gone to Campania, he passed from thence to Capræ, a small island under a head-land, which was called the Promontory of Minerva, making one side of the Bay of Naples. It is probable that, after mature deliberation, he had fixed on this spot as a place of secu-

¹⁶ *Infita Claudiæ familiæ superbia.* TACIT.

rity and an agreeable retreat. It was covered by the high lands of Minerva from the north-east winds, and was open to breezes from the sea on the south-west. It was accessible only to very small vessels, and this only at a single place. The seas were open to his scouts, and no sail could approach without his knowledge and permission. In this secession it appears, that he divided the guards, having one part in the island for the defence of his person, and the other at Rome, to enforce the mandates of his government.

Among the Romans who were admitted into this retreat are mentioned Sejanus, from whom the Emperor was still inseparable, Curtius Atticus, a Roman knight, and Cocceius Nerva¹⁷, a Senator of great dignity, who, possessing much knowledge in the laws and constitutions of the commonwealth, was still acceptable, or even necessary in the councils of a prince, who, except where his own passions were concerned, still wished to be reasonable and just. This person, however, from whatever cause, soon after ended his days on this island by a voluntary death.

Tiberius, in the latter part of his life, admitted likewise into his privacy at Capreæ, Caius, the third son of Germanicus, better known by the name of Caligula. The society, however, in which he delighted most, was made up chiefly of Greeks, professed men of letters, but more eminent as flatterers and ministers of pleasure. For such men

¹⁷ Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 58.

B O O K
VI.

he had no respect, but suffered them to amuse him with their speculations, or rather with a kind of literary buffoonery, in discussing ludicrous questions which he was pleased to propose; such as, Who was the mother of Hecuba, and what species of music was sung by the Syrens¹⁸? These literary buffoons, however, no less than the objects of his political jealousy, experienced occasionally the effects of his capricious disgusts. One of them was banished to the island Cynaria for hinting a joke on the Doric accent, which the Emperor had acquired at Rhodes in his pronunciation of Greek. Another, having found out that the Emperor read books every morning, out of which he proposed his questions at night; and observing the book which the Emperor had been reading, came so well prepared to answer every question, that his trick was suspected. He was banished from the Emperor's company, and afterwards, by cruel usage, induced to lay violent hands on himself.

Were it established that ignominy could have no effect, nor the odious aspect of vice deter mankind from yielding to the vile considerations that lead to the practice of it, there would be no apology for molesting the world with many particulars, either of the past or subsequent part of this detestable reign. But it is likely that ingenuous minds may arrive at what is just, by desiring to shun what is odious and vile, no less than by admiring and aiming at what is noble and worthy. Certain follies and vices some-

¹⁸ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 70.

times gain strength from the fashion and the example of persons in high station. But it is established by the feelings of mankind through every age, that malice, jealousy, and cruelty, can receive no lustre even from the purple and the throne of Cæsar, and Tiberius himself, considered as the monument of an infamy to be shunned, may be a teacher of humanity and of wisdom not inferior to Trajan or Aurelius.

This tyrant, though now withdrawn from the resentment of those he injured, did not suffer his vigilant jealousy to sleep over the rumors and reports of his informers and spies, but rather, with a more open and unguarded severity, watched over crimes which had no existence but in his own imagination, or in his remembrance of the countenance and aspect of the persons he disliked. In his present retreat, he seemed to multiply the objects of his hatred, in proportion as he himself was secure; and in order to compensate the distance to which he was removed, employed a proportional speed and decision to surprise, and to prevent those who were suspected of any designs against him. From Capreæ, his mandates, for the most part, were carried to the Senate, and to the military officers at Rome, not as complaints against the supposed offender, or as instructions to the magistrate to make trial or inquiry into the guilt of the accused, but as warrants for their immediate execution.

Agrippina and her sons, with their adherents, and those of Germanicus, were principal objects of the present Emperor's animosity and cruel dis-

B O O K like. This family being high in the favor of the
VI. People, he fancied that the young men might not be disposed to defer the completion of their hopes, until a natural event had bestowed a succession, which a daring attempt might accelerate. Nero and Drusus, the two elder sons of this family, having, without any authority from the Emperor, been included by the Senate in the forms of public prayer, their names were again expunged by his order, and with an admonition to the Senate, not to inflame the ambition of youth with premature and exorbitant honors.

This forward attempt to place the sons of Germanicus on the steps of the throne, was supposed to proceed from the ambition of their mother Agrippina, who appearing to carry in her high looks and vehement temper the pretensions of the granddaughter of Augustus, and the mother of future Emperors, ever seemed to reproach Tiberius with having usurped, and with continuing to possess, what was due to herself and to her children. Sejanus did not neglect to cultivate the animosity of either party. He had informations conveyed to Agrippina, of a design that was hatching at Capræ against her life, and excited her by these means to give the Emperor provoking marks of her caution and distrust, which were easily interpreted as the symptoms of a guilty mind in herself, and hastened the preventions on his part, which he thought proper to employ against her.

As mutual provocations had passed between Agrippina and the Emperor before his departure from

Rome, and as she was become a principal object of his dislike, it is extremely probable that he had then resolved upon the ruin of her family, at least upon her own; and that he took his station at Capræ for the more safe execution of an unpopular act, which might occasion some tumult in the city, or even a defection of the army. He proceeded, however, by degrees in the execution of his purpose, and before his departure from Rome, had made a trial of his power against some of her relations and friends. Under this description, he had ordered the execution of Sofia Galla and Claudia Pulchra two women of noble birth, who were related to her by blood, and much in her confidence.

Upon occasion of the last of these executions, Agrippina, who considered herself as aimed at in this cruel action, ventured with a vehemence and impetuosity which made part of her character, to reproach the Emperor with his tyranny, accosting him to this purpose, as he was engaged in his devotions at the shrine of Augustus: "It ill becomes a person," she said, "who affects to worship the parent, to practise the ruin of his offspring. The spirit of him you adore is not transferred into the inanimate marble which you worship, but into his living posterity whom you oppress, and whom you cause to live in continual mourning, and in sorrow. Pulchra must perish now for the same reason that was formerly fatal to Sofia, for her being the unhappy relation and friend of those you are determined to ruin." Tiberius replied in a Greek quotation, implying *that she was hurt*,

BOOK VI. *because she was not allowed to reign*¹⁹; and in these words, contrary to his usual dissimulation, betrayed the rancor of his mind²⁰.

After the retreat of Tiberius to Capreæ, Sejanus, to gratify the passions of his master, and to make way for his own ambition, continued his practices against the family of Germanicus. He had spies placed about them, and received frequent informations, in writing, of what passed in their company. He had an account of all the actions and words of Nero, the eldest of the two sons from Julia Drusilla, the wife of this young man, who was engaged by her mother Livilla to betray her husband. He took measures to provoke both the brothers to angry and unguarded expressions, and had these effects of his own provocations carefully reported to the Emperor. He had emissaries, who insinuating themselves into the favor and confidence of these young men, urged them to rash and desperate resolutions; such as that of calling upon the armies in Germany to support their rights, of taking refuge at the shrine of Augustus, and of appealing to the People. When these emissaries could not actually engage the persons against whom they were employed in the crimes they suggested, they had instructions to accuse them to the Emperor of having deliberated on such dangerous projects.

While the sons of Agrippina were thus

¹⁹ Ideo lædi, quia non regnaret.

²⁰ Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 52.

surrounded

surrounded with snares, their most faithful retainers and friends were exposed to the same dangers, or actually fell under the hands of the executioner. Among these, Titius Sabinus had been distinguished by his affection to Germanicus, and remained still attached to his family. He had been, upon this account, an object of the Emperor's aversion, and likely to suffer under the first plausible pretence that could be found against him. Being selected, soon after the retreat of Tiberius, by the sagacity of those who wished to pay their court, as a proper object on whom to display their zeal, he was attacked at once by four persons of Senatorian rank, Latinus Latialis, Porcius Cato, Politus Rufus, and M. Oppius, all of them already promoted to the dignity of Prætor, and now aspiring to that of Consul. They agreed to pay their court, by some notable service, to the prince and his favorite. The first undertook, by insinuating himself into the confidence of Sabinus, to betray him into some criminal action or expression. The other three were to be placed within hearing of what should pass, in order to be cited as witnesses.

A snare so artfully laid could scarcely be avoided. The injured, wherever they think themselves safe, are apt to complain; and Sabinus, finding that his faithful attachment to the family of his late friend was warmly applauded by Latialis, unwarily joined with the traitor in lamenting the iniquity of the times, and the cruelty of Sejanus and Tiberius. Conversations to this purpose being repeated at some supposed confidential interviews; but in the

BOOK
VI.

hearing of the other three, who were posted as witnesses, it soon appeared, that there was sufficient matter against Sabinus; and the information was conveyed to the Emperor.

The informers, as a specimen both of their zeal and of their ability, gave a particular account of their conduct in bringing the treasonable thoughts of Sabinus to light. The information was applauded by the Emperor, transmitted to the Senate, and by them considered as a warrant for the immediate death of the accused. Being found by the officers, commissioned to seize him, paying his devotion at some public altar, he was dragged from thence to immediate execution. The particulars of the detection were published, in order to show with what zeal the Emperor was served, and in order to restrain the disaffected, by a mutual distrust of each other, from entering into any such dangerous councils.

The tragical death of Sabinus, a person generally loved and respected; his being dragged by the executioner through the streets at noon-day in sight of the People, spread a general consternation in the city. All orders of men, under their first impressions, deserted the public places; but presently recollecting that their flight might be imputed to a participation of guilt, or at least to some degree of sympathy with the person who suffered, they immediately returned to the places of public resort, and affected their usual ease and tranquillity. But from thenceforward, for some time, it was observed, that a melancholy silence took place, even in the

most secret conversations of relations and intimate companions, who, from this example, had learned to distrust each other.

Tiberius, upon receiving the report of Sabinus's execution, thanked the Senate for the justice they had done on this enemy of the commonwealth, and mentioned a danger to which his person was still exposed from other enemies, more formidable than those they had already destroyed. In this ominous insinuation, he was supposed to point at Agrippina and her sons. Asinius Gallus ventured to call for an explanation, by moving the Senate to address the Emperor, that he would be graciously pleased to make known the object of his apprehensions, and that he would accept of their services in the defence of his person.

Gallus had married Vipsania, from whom Tiberius was separated, when his marriage with Julia was determined. By this alliance, he became the relation of Agrippina²¹; and, what was still more dangerous, had presumed to succeed the Emperor himself in a connexion, of which he still was envious and jealous. This circumstance rendered him, to the dark and vindictive mind of Tiberius, an object of deliberate malice. When his motion to address the Emperor for an explanation of his fears was reported at court, it was considered as a saucy attempt to penetrate the secrets of government, as a contempt

²¹ Vipsania was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage, and consequently the half sister of Agrippina.

B O O K of authority , and a dangerous attack upon the
VI. majesty of the prince.

Tiberius would have seized this opportunity to execute his revenge against Gallus , if he had not been diverted from it by Sejanus himself , who wished rather to keep his mind intent on the destruction of Agrippina and her two eldest sons, who were equally objects of jealousy to the minister as to the Emperor.

Such were the affairs which succeeded in the State, to the great political questions that formerly used to divide the Senate and the People ; and as the event of these affairs turned upon the caprice of individuals , they were very much affected by any alterations which happened at court. It being now the fourth year after the retreat of the Emperor to Capreæ, a considerable change took place by the death of Livia Augusta, who, by her first marriage, was the mother of Tiberius , and by her second, the widow of Augustus , by whom she had no children. She appears to have been a woman of consummate address. According to Tacitus, a fond and partial mother, an obsequious wife, and uniting, in her own character, the abilities of her husband, with the duplicity of her son. Being asked , by what arts she had kept her place so long in the confidence of Augustus ? “ By the most scrupulous
 “ virtue ,” she said ; “ by implicit obedience ; by
 “ not meddling in affairs of state ; by overlooking
 “ his intrigues with other women ”²² .”

²² Dio Cass. lib. lviii. c. 2.

The authority of Livia had been a considerable restraint on the temper of her son; and being exerted to thwart him on some occasions, had contributed to the resolution he took of retiring from Rome. Both the mother and the son had their jealousies and their resentments; but as they seldom fixed on the same objects, such as were persecuted by the one, sometimes found a refuge with the other. They concurred in their aversion to Agrippina, but might have been divided in their inclinations towards her children. Livia, tainted with the rancor of a stepmother²³, and incited by personal jealousies, ever saw in the person of Agrippina an air of superiority which seemed to reproach her as the wife of Nero, and but an intruder into the family of Cæsar. With respect to the widow of Germanicus, therefore, she was probably more implacable even than the Emperor; but with respect to his children, these being descended of herself, it may be supposed that she could not possibly adopt the passions of Sejanus to their prejudice, nor wish to remove them, in order to make way for the ambition of a stranger. The death of Livia was accordingly to those young men a fatal circumstance, and facilitated the execution of designs, which the Emperor or his favorite had formed against them. Soon after the funeral rites were performed the storm which had been long impending over them accordingly broke out. A letter from the Emperor was presented to the Senate, accusing

²³ Novercalibus odiis. TACIT.

BOOK VI. Agrippina, and Nero the eldest of her sons, not of any plot or conspiracy against the State, or of any breach of the public peace, but charging the young man with lewdness, and the mother with haughty looks, and a stubborn heart.

This letter was received in the Senate with surprise. After some interval of consternation and silence, a motion was made to proceed in the matter to which it referred; but there being no specific charge, and no instructions to form a prosecution, it was observed, that the Emperor might have given way to his displeasure in angry expressions, without intending any further censure or judicial severities. Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by Tiberius clerk or secretary of the Senate, ventured to advise a delay, in order that the Emperor might have time to re-consider the subject, and to make the Senate acquainted with his real intentions.

In the mean time, the purport of this letter was rumored abroad, and the Senate was beset with multitudes of the People, who, carrying the effigies of Agrippina and her son, exclaimed that the letter in question must have been forged; that it was impossible the Emperor could intend the destruction of his own family; and, after the Senate broke up, there continued to be handed about in the streets invectives against Sejanus, alledged to be the speeches of members in that assembly.

When these particulars came to be known at Capreæ, they were represented by Sejanus as an insult upon the Senate, and as a contempt of the

Emperor's authority. Libels, he said, were daringly published; the people were assembled in disorderly tumults, and nothing was wanting to complete the rebellion, but arms, and the personal presence of those leaders who were already followed in effigy.

Tiberius accordingly renewed his complaint to the Senate, reprimanding them for not having proceeded on his former letter; but insinuated, that he did not aim at the life of Agrippina, nor at that of her son. In this, he seemed to require a sentence of exile or imprisonment; and the members, now as much decided as they had been lately perplexed and irresolute, were eager to distinguish their zeal. After four-and-forty elaborate speeches had been delivered, all tending to prove the necessity of immediate severities, it was resolved that Agrippina, with the eldest of her sons, should be banished; the first into the island of Pandateria, the place where her mother, the unhappy Julia, had been confined; and the other to Pontia, an other island on the same coast²⁴. The younger brothers were overlooked on the present occasion. Drusus, the second, being persuaded by Sejanus that the removal of his elder brother tended to his own advantage, by opening his way to the empire, took no part in the distresses of his family. He himself, however, was soon after put in confinement, and for some years kept a prisoner at Rome, in a secret recess of the Emperor's palace.

²⁴ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 33, 34.

BOOK

VI.

Tiberius, in some instances, endeavoured to compensate the injustice which he practised against one set of persons, by acts of munificence to others, whom he selected as objects of his bounty, or who were of too little consequence to incur his jealousy. He seized an opportunity of this kind, about the time that Agrippina and her son experienced his vengeance, by relieving numbers who had suffered by a fire which had recently consumed some part of the city, and others, who had suffered by the fall of a theatre erected at Fidenæ; a disaster, by which, according to Tacitus, about fifty thousand persons were killed or hurt. Continuing, however, with respect to those who incurred his aversion or his distrust, to exercise a cruelty which seemed to increase with age, or with the consciousness of his own demerit towards mankind, he proceeded against Asinius Gallus with singular marks of deliberate malice; took measures to prolong the sufferings of this favorite victim, wished to witness their effects, and to enforce the impression of them with peculiar circumstances of insult and mockery. For this purpose, he procured a deputation from the Senate to be sent to Capræ, and took care that Asinius Gallus should be one of the deputies. Upon their arrival, he received Gallus in a manner peculiarly gracious, admitted him as a party in all his entertainments, and as an ordinary guest at his table; but having in the mean time sent a complaint of treason against him to Rome, and directed that a warrant from the Senate should be sent to seize his person, he continued his former behaviour, and

detained him at Capreæ, under various pretences of kindness, until the warrant of the Senate to seize him should arrive. He took care to be present when this warrant was executed, affected surprise, even pretended to be distressed, and, when the prisoner was removed, gave strict injunctions that no violence should be offered to him, nor any sentence passed against him, until he himself should return to Rome.

In this ambiguous injunction, Gallus was condemned to a lingering state of suspense, and of suffering without the knowledge of his crime, or of the person by whom he was accused; a species of refinement on cruelty which Tiberius had lately adopted, and which he sometimes expressed. Having a petition presented to him, that one of his prisoners might be allowed to die: "I am not," he said, "sufficiently reconciled to him for that."

While Sejanus was considered as the author of most of these cruel acts, and was accordingly the general object of flattery as well as of terror, he was in reality the dupe of his master's cunning, and at this very time was already doomed to destruction.

Tiberius, either moved by a mere change of caprice incident to unhappy men, or warned of some danger to his own person, from the height and from the views to which he had raised this favorite, had for some time secretly resolved on his ruin; but while he resolved this purpose in his own mind, and weighed the dangers to which he might be exposed in the execution of it, he redoubled the usual marks

BOOK VI. of his favor, and in all his dispatches, in which he mentioned Sejanus to the Senate, designed him, *My Sejanus, and the partner of my cares and my labors.*

The public, as well as Sejanus himself, were imposed upon by these appearances. No honor was moved for the Emperor, in which Sejanus was not included. Their statues still continued to be erected together, and were multiplied in every street; and when the Emperor signified his pleasure that Sejanus should be named to the Consulate, together with himself, the Senate replied, by an act, vesting the prince and his favorite with this dignity for five years.

Hitherto, it is probable that Tiberius, well aware of the vigilance and penetration of his favorite, and of the numerous spies he had employed, had not confided his secret to any person whatever, and wished to remove him from his person, before he ventured to proceed any farther in his design. For this purpose, he had chosen him for his own colleague in the Consulate of the ensuing year; and, under pretence of delegating to him the whole functions of an office, which the Emperor himself could not attend, he sent him to Rome.

For some time after the arrival of Sejanus in the city, the usual executions for treason were continued and persons who had incurred the suspicion either of the prince or his minister, perished with their wives and their children. Many of them, as usual, to prevent the effects of a formal sentence, laid

violent hands on themselves, and some exhibited this horrid spectacle even at the bar of the Senate²⁵. C H A P.
VI.

While Sejanus thus seemed to wield the Imperial power, and to hold the lives of the people at his mercy, he was attended by multitudes, who pressed to his gate in such numbers, that the court of his palace could scarcely receive them. He slighted the attentions that were paid to him; but with unwearied jealousy remarked every appearance of neglect, and doomed to destruction persons who gave any signs of impatience, under the state of servility and debasement to which they were reduced.

In the mean time, Tiberius proceeded with great circumspection. He had accepted of the Consulate merely to flatter his minister, and to increase his security, in being placed as the colleague of the Emperor in that station. Being to destroy him, it was necessary that some one should be present, on whom the dignity of Consul might devolve. For this reason, he divested himself of the office, and substituted in his own place C. Memmius Regulus, who, on the first of May, was admitted as the colleague of Sejanus. From thenceforward, the conduct of the Emperor threw the favorite himself, and the public in general, into great perplexity. In some of his letters to the Senate, he spoke of his health as declining, and of himself as a dying person. In his next, he announced his recovery, and a design of speedily visiting the metropolis. He commended Sejanus in one letter, he censured him in another;

²⁵ Dio Cass. lib. lviii. c. 4.

BOOK
VI.

sometimes favored none but his partisans and adherents, at other times affected to prefer his rivals. It is possible, that in these inconsistencies, he himself actually wavered between hatred and fear; and apprehending the great influence of Sejanus over the Prætorian guards, hesitated in the execution of his purpose. It is likewise extremely agreeable to his character, to suppose that he meant, by holding forth some signs of displeasure, to urge the object of it to some act of indiscretion or insolence, which could be made the foundation of a plausible charge against him, and that he had spies on his conduct to lay hold of any pretence he should furnish for an impeachment; but that, fearing to drive him to some dangerous act of despair, he retracted in one message the provocation he had given in a former.

While Sejanus appeared, from some circumstances in the conduct of the Emperor towards him, to be out of favor, he was suddenly raised to the dignity of Pontiff, together with Caius Cæsar Caligula; and thinking this a favorable opportunity to recover his place about the person of his master, he desired leave to offer his thanks at Capreæ; but was told that he might spare himself the trouble, for that the Emperor was soon to be at Rome.

To try the effect of a fresh mortification on the temper of this devoted favorite, Caius Cæsar Caligula was declared successor in the empire. The popularity of the family of Germanicus, made this declaration be received with universal joy; and being joined to other indications, that Sejanus no longer had the exclusive possession of the Emperor's

favor, greatly diminished the court that was paid to him. C H A P.
VI.

From this time it is probable that Tiberius took into his confidence Macro, an officer already of high rank in the Prætorian bands, and whom he destined to succeed Sejanus in the command of that body. With Macro, he concerted the manner of removing this dangerous man, and formed a plan, which was to be intrusted to his execution. Sejanus was to be flattered with new hopes; he was to be surprised in the Senate, while the guards were to be amused with, what was a new circumstance in this reign, the distribution of a donative from the Emperor.

In proceeding to execute this design, in a manner which the Emperor chose from his love of duplicity, or which, from his fear of the troops that were under the command of Sejanus, he thought himself obliged to contrive with so much circumspection, he intimated to the Senate, and to Sejanus himself, that he speedily meant to vest him with the character of Tribune, a dignity which rendered the person sacred, and which the Cæsars had in some measure appropriated to themselves. While this intimation was supposed to lull Sejanus in perfect security, Macro was dispatched to Rome, and took care to arrive at an hour, when the Senate had been, by order of the Emperor, appointed to assemble. He met with Sejanus, just as he had posted his guard, and was entering at the door of the Senate-house; and being asked, what commands he had from the Emperor, and what letters for himself? answered,

BOOK
VI.

That he had brought his appointment to the Tribunitian power, and was to lay it before the Senate.

Sejanus took his place, with the usual attendance of persons who had accompanied him from his own house, and had the members of the Senate still crowding around him as usual, when Macro presented the mandate of the Emperor, and retired.

This paper was artfully drawn up, to gain time in the reading, and to keep all parties in suspense, while Macro should take his measures to secure the guards. In the preamble, the name of Sejanus was not at all mentioned; in the subsequent parts of the paper, he was sometimes extolled, and sometimes censured. Other affairs were intermixed with this, and the suspense which so long and so strange a performance occasioned in the minds of those who were present, amounted to some degree of stupefaction. But it concluded at last with a peremptory charge of treason against Sejanus; and the crowd of attendants instantly withdrew from the Consul's chair on which he was seated. His colleague in office, Regulus, called upon him by name to stand up; but so much was he distracted, and so little accustomed to this tone of voice, that upon a second call, he started from his seat, and asked, if the words were addressed to him? Surprise had disqualified him to take any vigorous resolution; and when he began to recollect himself, the precautions which had been taken by his enemies, rendered all his endeavours too late.

Macro, as soon as he had delivered the Emperor's letter to be read in the Senate, went to the guard

which was posted at the doors, informed them that he brought a donative from the Emperor, which they were then to share with their fellow-soldiers in the barracks; that for this purpose, they were immediately to be relieved by a party of the city-watch. This being done, he led them to the citadel, or what was called the Camp of the Prætorian bands²⁶, distributed the Emperor's bounty, and at the same time taxed their commander with ingratitude to so kind a master; intimated his removal, produced his own commission to succeed in that important station, and, by his authority, as well as by these precautions, prevented any disturbance among that formidable body of men.

Sejanus being deserted in the Senate by those who had attended him into the house, and who a few moments before pressed to be first in his observation, was taken into custody of the party which had relieved his own guard, and was treated as a person accused of the highest crimes. On the first motion for a commitment, he was ordered to prison, and persons of every description began to give unfeigned or affected demonstrations of joy. From many who were present, the fear that was lately expressed in adulation and courtship, now burst forth in reproaches and insults. In others, who were more nearly connected with the prisoner, or more likely to be involved, in his fate, the terror with which they were seized, was disguised under the affectation of joy. The populace, as he passed through the

²⁶ Castrum Prætorium.

BOOK
VI.

streets, took their part as usual in the storm which burst on this unfortunate man, and, that he might not have the consolation of passing unseen, tore away the lappet of his gown, with which he endeavoured to cover his face.

On the same day, the Senate met again in a temple contiguous to the prison in which Sejanus was confined, and, without any specific charge or evidence of guilt, gave sentence of death against him, which was accordingly executed. The dead body, as usual in the case of treason, being made fast on a hook, was dragged through the streets, and cast into the river, where it was thrown up, or continued afloat during some days, under the continual insults of a multitude of people.

It is not easy to determine how far this minister was accountable for a tyranny, which occasioned so vehement and so general a resentment. His crimes were undoubtedly great, and the envy of his fortune was not to be assuaged by common sufferings. But as human nature is liable to error in the manner of punishing crimes, as well as in the commission of them, the rage which now animated the populace against Sejanus, mixed with a servile intention to pay their court to the Emperor, led to an action as criminal and more odious than any of which he himself had been accused or suspected. The children of this unhappy man, a boy and a girl, though too young to partake in his guilt, or to furnish any subject of distrust or of jealousy to his enemies, were included in the same fate with the father: the girl with so much innocence, that she often asked the persons by whom

whom she was seized, what she had done? assured them, with an infantine simplicity, that she never would do it again; begged that they would not carry her to prison; said that she never was obstinate, and that a few strokes of the rod were enough to correct her. C H A P.
VI.

It is subjoined to this piteous detail, that, in compliance with a vile superstition, which the consideration of innocence could not restrain, she was ordered to be ravished previous to her execution, because it was ominous of misfortune to inflict the punishment of death on a virgin²⁷. The bodies of these innocents, in the same manner with that of their father, were dragged through the streets, and cast into the river.

It is difficult to account, from any principles of human nature, for acts of such amazing depravity. Tyrants seldom exceed the bounds of resentment, jealousy, or fear; but the vile tools that are procured by servility to execute their purpose, in order to ingratiate themselves, often outrun, in their affectation of zeal, what tyranny or cowardice itself could not suggest or perpetrate.

Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and the mother of these unhappy children, having first disclosed the conspiracy, by which Drusus the son of Tiberius, had been poisoned, laid violent hands on herself,

²⁷ Dio Cass. lib. lviii. c. 11. Tacit. Annal. lib. v. c. 5.

BOOK
VI.

and by the discovery she made, soon after brought on the ruin of the widow Livilla, with that of the other accomplices in that daring crime.

It was reported, that the anxiety of Tiberius, whether real or affected, was such, during the dependance of his design on Sejanus, that he instructed Macro, in case of any resistance from the guards, to bring forth Drusus, the son of Germanicus, then a prisoner in the palace, to assemble the citizens against them; that he had prepared shipping at Capreæ to waft himself, in case of necessity, to some of the military stations on the frontier; that he had formed a chain of posts from Rome to the nearest promontory of Campania, with orders to light fires, and to make other concerted signals, in case it should be necessary for him to consult his safety by flight. In his letter to the Senate, in order to make a suitable impression of the danger to which he wished the public to believe he was exposed from the designs of Sejanus, he concluded, with expressing his wishes to be again at Rome; but desired that the Consul, who remained at the head of the commonwealth, might come forth with the powers of the republic to conduct him in safety²⁸. His design however having succeeded to his wishes, Drusus was still retained a prisoner in the palace, and the Consul being arrived in Campania with his Lictors, to give the Emperor a safe conduct to Rome, was every where considered as an object of ridicule.

After the execution of Sejanus, the city conti-

²⁸ Dio Cass. lib. lviii. c. 13.

nued in ferment during many days. The People having been disposed, for some time, to impute to the minister the system of tyranny which had been lately pursued, rejoiced in his fall, applauded the severities which were executed on the partners of his guilt, and willingly pointed out, as accomplices in his crimes, his relations and friends, and all who had ever moved for any of the extravagant honors that were lately bestowed upon himself; but, as in imputing the guilt of many cruel measures to Sejanus, they were too favorable to the Emperor, so they probably over-rated the influence of the minister, who was in fact more the dupe, than the director, of his master's designs.

As it soon after appeared, that the cruel jealousies of this reign did not terminate with the death of the favorite, the People, as usual, ran to the opposite extreme, considered him as a mere instrument of his master's tyranny, as a person employed while his services were convenient, but in the end betrayed with a degree of perfidy, which rendered the cruelty of the tyrant, in that case, more odious than even when it was practised against the most innocent subjects²⁹. So prone are mankind, in particular instances, to suspect the falshood, or to exaggerate the wickedness of those, who, by general duplicity and malice, have incurred their detestation.

The death of Sejanus was so far from introducing any mitigation of the former tyranny, that it rather furnished a new set of pretences, under which to exert its force. Intimacy with the fallen

²⁹ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 55.

BOOK
VI.

minister, or a supposed participation of his guilt, involved greater numbers, than had been formerly questioned on account of any other species of treason. Persons of every sex and of every condition, were cast indiscriminately into the same prisons; and the time of the Senate was divided between the ordering of executions, and the appointment of honors, which were decreed to the prince for his vigilance in this matter. The title of Father of his country was again offered to him; additional rejoicings were devised for the anniversary of his birth, a general thanksgiving was appointed to the Gods; and a new statue was to be erected to Liberty. All persons were forbidden to wear mourning for Sejanus; the anniversary of his death was to be kept as a festival, or celebrated with public entertainments and sports; and it was resolved in the Senate, that the extravagant honors so profusely lavished on that minister, should not be repeated in the case of any subject whatever.

These decrees, Tiberius, so far as they were intended to confer honors on himself, rejected with disdain, and even refused to see the deputies who were separately sent from the Senate, from the Equestrian order, and from the People, to congratulate him on this occasion. He despised the givers too much to be flattered with the gift, and was aware of their duplicity in pretending to offer him praise. Under this impression, at one of the last times he had attended the Senate in person, he was observed to leave the assembly with scorn.

What a collection, he said, of willing slaves ³⁰. There is, it seems, a degree of good nature as well as of weakness, in wishing to be flattered. This prince was equally exempted from both.

The Senate, however, the more they were spurned, became the more sensible of their own degradation, and only endeavoured to vary the mode of their flattery. As Tiberius ever talked of his approaching return to Rome, and of his intended appearance in the Senate, they passed a decree, that twenty of their own number, to be named by the Emperor himself, should be armed with swords, and should have charge of his safety as often as he took his seat in their meetings. When this resolution was intimated to him, he returned thanks for their zeal, and with some derision desired to know, Whether this Senatorial guard should be young men or old men? Whether they should continue for life, or be taken in rotation? And whether they should arm only at the door of the Senate-house, or pass in arms through the streets ³¹? And concluded with saying, That, if his life was worth preserving, he should think himself sufficiently safe, when attended by Macro and some Tribunes of his guards, whom he would take the liberty to bring into the Senate.

This reference to the guards had the effect of an admonition, and drew from the Senate an attempt to pay their court likewise to this formidable body of men. Bounties in money and honorary distinctions were decreed to them; such as, that the Præ-

³⁰ Dio Cass. lib. lvi. c. 13.

³¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. ii.

BOOK
VI.

torian foldier, at the expiration of the time for which he inlifted, fhould be allowed a place at the theatre on the bench of the Equeftrian order. In this, however, the compliment was not more fuccefsful than it had been in other inftances. It was even refented by the Emperor as an attempt to fhare the affection of the troops with himfelf. Junius Gallio, who had made the motion, was ordered into exile, and afterwards committed to prifon in the city. And the Senate, as a laft effort to please this froward prince, feeing that the project to arm a part of their own number in his defence was not acceptable, refolved, That every member, in entering the houfe, fhould be fearch'd for conceal'd weapons, as a precaution for the fafety of a perfon who probably never meant to intruft himfelf in their hands³².

In the midft of thefe fervilities, the Emperor met with fome inftances of a daring petulance, and with fome even of a noble freedom, which he had the difcretion to overlook, or to treat with affected refpect. The defects of his perfon, he being bald, foul-faced, and bent with age, were exhibited by actors on the ftage; and the monfter, fo reprefented, it was faid, practifed in fecret the moft deteftable vices; alluding to the manner in which the Emperor paffed his time at Capreae. But with refpect to fuch buffooneries, he had the difcernment to know, that a ferious attempt to punifh the authors, would only tend to confirm the application, and to increafe its effects.

³² Dio Caff. lib. lviii. c. 18.

Among the numbers that were questioned as partners in the guilt of the late minister, and of whom many perished by their own hands, or by that of the executioner, Marcus Terentius, a Roman Knight, had the courage to acknowledge his guilt, and pleaded his cause in a manner that suspended the proceedings of the Senate against him. "It were safer, perhaps, for me," he said, "to deny, than to confess, my connexion with Sejanus. But whatever may be the event, I must own that I attached myself to that minister; that I desired to be reckoned among his friends, and was proud of this title. In him I saw the first officer of the army, the first minister of the State, and the colleague of Cæsar; a powerful patron, and an irresistible enemy; one whose favor was preferment and honor, whose displeasure was ruin and disgrace. It was not for me to penetrate the councils of my prince, nor to decide on the reasons of his conduct. It was my duty to honor whom he honored; and in this, as well as in every thing else, to acquit myself as a faithful subject, by a perfect compliance with my sovereign's will. Please to recollect the period of this minister's favor, as well as of his disgrace. My conduct in both, and my defence, is the same with those of many others. We adhered to him, while the sovereign commanded us to do so; we left him the moment he was supposed to be the enemy of our prince." Upon this defence, the absurdity of punishing in others an error of which the Emperor

BOOK
VI.

himself had set the example, suspended, for a moment, the rage of prosecution; and the prisoner, with consent of Tiberius, was acquitted.

An officer, named Lentulus Gentulicus, then at the head of the legions on the Upper Rhine, being some time afterwards accused as an accomplice with Sejanus, had the boldness to write, that his connexion with that minister was pointed out to him by the Emperor himself; that the mistake was common to both, and that what was deemed innocent in one person, ought not to be imputed as a crime to another. "I have hitherto," he said, "been faithful in the discharge of my trust, and mean to continue so; but the first attempt to supersede me, I shall consider as a warning to defend myself. Matters, however, may remain in quiet, I am willing to acknowledge the Emperor so long as I remain unmolested." Tiberius, now far advanced in years, governing by his reputation, and by the influence of forms established in the reign of his predecessor and his own, did not choose to risk his authority against a person, who, being at the head of an army, had the courage to hold such language; and affected, from this time forward, to treat Gentulicus with particular marks of favor and respect²³.

Others were imprisoned, and carried to execution in troops and companies; and the Emperor at last, as if tired with the pursuit of offenders in detail, or in separate divisions, ordered the jails to be cleared

²³ Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. 30.

by a general execution of all persons confined as accomplices in the treason of Sejanus. In consequence of this order, numbers of dead bodies of every sex, age, and condition, were cast forth into the streets, and lying scattered about, or collected in heaps, until they began to corrupt, were thrown into the river³⁴.

Mystery and concealment being the favorite arts of Tiberius, as often as he believed himself to be observed, he became jealous of every prying look, and detested such persons as seemed to be qualified to distinguish truth from appearances. At one time he received informers as the most acceptable members of his court; at other times, he appeared to detest them as persons who had detected his vices, and were hastening to make them known to the world. During the prosecution of his design against Sejanus, he encouraged his spies with additional rewards, and even with public honors. But after he had assuaged his passion in the blood of so many victims, he turned his distrust and aversion against the instruments of his cruelties, and ordered the city to be cleared of informers by a general slaughter.

In one of his letters to the Senate, under the effects of disgust and aversion to measures which he had pursued for his own safety, but which he found to involve him in growing danger and guilt, he betrayed the distraction and anguish of his mind. "May I perish," he said, "under evils still worse

³⁴ Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. 19.

BOOK
VI.

“ than those I endure, if I know what to write, or
“ what I should not write.” These were probably
the boils, ulcers, and sores, on the body of Tiberius,
to which Julian alludes³⁵ in presenting him among
his Cæsars.

In the memoirs which this Emperor kept of the
transactions of his reign, he stated the disgrace and
execution of Sejanus, as a punishment inflicted on
him for his cruelties to the family of Germanicus;
and yet these cruelties, which were afterwards car-
ried to much greater heights by the Emperor him-
self, had been only begun under the influence of
that minister.

Agrippina, with two of her sons, Nero and Dru-
sus, had, during the administration of Sejanus, been
taken into custody, or banished to some of the
islands contiguous to the coast of Italy; but all of
them perished after the death of Sejanus, either by
the executioner, or by their own hands, urged to
despair by the indignities they were made to suffer.

The mother perished in one or other of these
ways in the island Pandateria, the place of her
exile; and the eldest of her two sons was starved
to death in one of the small islands called Pontiaë,
to which he was confined.

The second son perished in the same manner,
some time afterwards, in a prison to which he had
been committed in the palace. A diary had been
kept of all the expressions of impatience which, un-
der this confinement, had dropt from him during

³⁵ Vid. Cæsars of Julian.

some years ; and the reproaches which were extorted from him , by his sufferings , were stated as the crimes for which he suffered.

C H A P.
VI.

A third son of Germanicus and Agrippina , Caius , better known by the name of Caligula , yet remained ; to convince the Roman People , that the fond expectations which are formed of princes who die prematurely , are not always well founded. This young man , whether recommended to Tiberius by an early sympathy of their characters , or merely overlooked by him on account of his youth , not only escaped the persecutions in which his family was involved , but was at last embraced by the Emperor as a support to his age ; and making a part of his court at Capreæ , next to Macro , enjoyed the second place in his favor.

The Emperor had a grandson by birth of the name of Tiberius ; but Caius , who was his grandson by adoption , being elder , was pointed out by this circumstance of seniority , and by the favor which the People still bore to the family of Germanicus , as heir apparent to the empire.

Caius was encouraged by the grandfather , to whom falsehood appeared to be a necessary ingredient in every transaction , to expect the succession , while it was really intended for Tiberius. The first , though not qualified by address to extricate himself from any difficulties , acted , perhaps from mere insensibility or fear , the part which was fittest in his place , and which continued to render him sufferable at the court of Tiberius. He acquiesced in the fate of his mother and of his brothers , without

BOOK
VI.

uttering a single word of impatience or regret, regulated his own behaviour by the Emperor's looks; and whether his countenance were gloomy or gay, formed his own upon the same model, carrying, under the aspect of extreme servility, while a subject, that detestable profligacy which rendered him afterwards so cruel a tyrant, and which gave occasion to the famous saying, "That his accession to the empire spoilt a good slave to make a detestable master".³⁶

The accounts which are given of the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, have more the appearance of invective than of history. Even this hateful monster, it is said, was addicted to pleasure; but of so vile a kind, as to excite detestation and loathing, more than to increase the indignation which is felt at his cruelties and other crimes. His procurers had authority to employ seduction, money, and force; and, in their endeavours to supply his caprice, spared neither condition nor sex. It is difficult to conceive, that a world, enlightened by the reason and experience of so many ages; that citizens, acquainted with the character and the rights transmitted to them from their ancestors; that military men, yet rivalling the reputation of the ancient Romans, and having no interest in the horrid use that was made in the capital of the imperial and military power which they themselves bestowed and supported, should submit to be commanded for so many years by a superannuated monster, retired from the

³⁶ Tacit. Annal. c. 20.

world, and supposed to practise every species of private abomination, as well as of public oppression.

In accounting for the patience of the Romans under this odious reign, we may observe, that, in the sense of a People who still retained the ferocity of their ancestors, though possessed of few of their good qualities, the cruelties which are mentioned had less effect than they have on our feelings. They were practised chiefly against persons, who, being of the Emperor's family, or raised by himself to be objects of general envy, were easily abandoned by the public to his will.

Senators of distinction at Rome, having no protection to expect from the populace, by whom they were hated, from the troops who were jealous of them, or from their own order, who were long since stripped of every remnant of real power, were abandoned to the mercy of the tyrant. The followers of his own court at Capreæ, amongst whom the executioner made a principal personage, were still more in his power. They were commonly executed in presence of the Emperor himself, who assisted in the refinements of cruelty which were practised against them. It was a favorite sport to throw those, whom he doomed to destruction, from a precipice into the sea, where they were received by a party from the gallies, who, with boat-hooks and oars, dispatched such as were otherwise likely to escape.

After such an account of the character of this Emperor, it is painful, in accounting for the success of his government, to acknowledge that he was a man of considerable ability; and that, while he

B O O K
VI.

indulged his passions in the capital, or at his own court, yet in the provinces, where the consequences of an error might have been fatal or dangerous to his power, he held the reins with a steady and a well-directed hand. Having possession of the empire by means of the army, he maintained his authority over this order of men by a well-placed application of discipline; not by any extraordinary indulgence, or bounty, which often corrupt, and render ungovernable, those whom they are intended to gain. On this subject, it is observed that he never made any general donation beside that of doubling the legacy which Augustus had bequeathed to the troops; and no particular one, beside those which he made to the Prætorian bands to secure their acquiescence in the fate of Sejanus; and to the legions of the East, as a reward for their not having paid, to this favorite, in the height of his power, the honors which were done to him by all the other armies of the empire³⁷. He preserved his authority in the provinces by a jealous inspection of those who were intrusted with the administration of his affairs; and in this was, no doubt, greatly assisted by his indifference to personal friendships, which, in princes better disposed than himself, have often the effect of pernicious predilections and partialities. He checked all attempts at conspiracies, by the impression he gave of his vigilance, and by the mutual distrust with which he inspired his enemies,

³⁷ In the armies of the West, the effigy of Sejanus was carried with the colors, or ensigns of the legion.

making their treachery to each other, the road to preferments, honors, and wealth. C H A P.
VI.

The ordinary rotation and succession to office and command, which Augustus, in continuation of the republican forms, had still maintained, Tiberius, by a very natural tendency of the monarchical spirit, in a great measure, or entirely, abolished. Such officers as were successful in keeping the peace of their provinces, he generally continued for many years, and sometimes for life. He avoided, as much as possible, the necessity of employing, at the head of armies, men of enterprise, forward ambition, or even superior capacity. He left the disorders, or troubles, that arose in any distant province, to the effect of time, rather than be obliged to employ, in repressing them, men who were likely to eclipse his own glory, or to awaken his jealousy. But as such men were likely ill to endure the state of obscurity in which they were kept, he soothed their discontents, sometimes, by flattering them with extraordinary honors. He named them for stations of high command; but still under various pretences detained them at Rome, where they were allowed to appear with the ensigns of their public character, but never to enter on the possession of its powers.

To these particulars we may join the advantages which Tiberius enjoyed by succeeding to Augustus, whose long and well-regulated government had left, throughout the empire, habits of submission and obedience, which could not be shaken by offences committed within the verge of the court, or in the

B O O K
VI.

capital, and against particular descriptions of men, in whom the empire at large took little concern.

The ordinary residence of this Emperor, during eleven years in the later period of his reign, was in the island of Capreæ. This he had chosen as a place of security against any sudden attempts which might be made on his life. He nevertheless paid occasional visits to the continent of Italy, and made some stay at his villas situated in different parts of the country. In changing his abode, he kept the city of Rome in continual dread of his approach, sometimes presented himself in the neighbouring villages, and in the suburbs, but never entered the gates. At one time, he came by water to the gardens of the Naumachia, and, feeling himself incommoded by the concourse of people, placed guards to keep them at a distance, and soon after withdrew; at another time, in the last years of his reign, he advanced to the seventh mile-stone, and was in the sight of the battlements, but proceeded no farther. Being sensible of his decline and approaching dissolution, he undertook these journies to keep the Romans in awe, and to check the hopes they were apt to entertain of an approaching deliverance from his tyranny. From the same motives, he prohibited the resort of the People to supposed oracles which he knew to be consulted with respect to the prospect of his own decease, and forbade all intercourse with astrologers and magicians, a class of men, in whose skill he himself, though a contemner of the established superstition, had much faith.

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On the approach of death, Tiberius, feeling his strength rapidly decline, strove to amuse the public with another voyage, in which he once more pretended an intention to visit Rome; and being attended by Caius, by Macro, and by his usual retinue of guards and parasites, he crossed the bay of Baiæ, to the head-land of Misenum, where he possessed a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. At this place one of his physicians, under pretence of taking his leave for some days, pressed his hand, and took an opportunity to feel his pulse. From this stolen observation, it is said, that he ventured to inform Caius and Macro, that the Emperor could not survive many days.

Tiberius being led by some appearances to penetrate their thoughts, or wishing to conceal the real state of his health, took his place, as usual, at table, affected to prolong the entertainment, and addressed himself, at parting, with some particular words of attention to every guest: but after an effort of this sort, being retired to his apartment, he fainted away, and lay on his bed for dead. The report immediately ran from one end of the villa to the other. All the officers of the guards in attendance, and all the members and followers of the court, repaired to Caius with congratulations on his supposed accession to the empire. But while they were thus employed in paying their addresses to the successor, a servant arrived, and, in great consternation, announced that the Emperor was revived, and called for assistance. The company, in a moment, was dispersed; and Caius, with extreme terror, saw

BOOK VI. the ruin which threatened him for his premature acceptance of the court that was paid to him. But Macro retained his presence of mind, and put a sudden stop to the feeble efforts of returning life in Tiberius, by gathering up the coverlet of his bed, so as to stop his breath until he was suffocated.

C H A P. V I I.

Succession of Caius to the Empire. — The first appearances of his reign. — Conclusion of the History. — Observations on the Sequel. — Accession of the Flavian Family. — Vicissitudes of Character in the Emperors. — Sources of Degradation in the Imperial Establishment. — Its Preservatives. — Its real and continual, though almost insensible, Decline.

TIBERIUS died in the seventy - eighth year of his age, and in the twenty - third year of his reign. By this event the Imperial throne, for the first time since its establishment, became actually vacant. Men were left to form their conjectures of what was likely to happen, or, without any established rule of succession, to form their judgment of what was proper to be done on this emergency. Every question relating to the succession had been prevented at the demise of Augustus, by his having associated Tiberius in the government, a precaution by which the successor, instead of being left to rely on a controvertible title, was put in actual possession of the sovereignty. It is likely that Tiberius would have followed this example, if his grandson by birth, for whom he intended the empire, had been of a proper age to assume the government; but this young man was no more than

C H A P.
VII.

B O O K
VI.

seventeen years of age, while Caius, the grandson by adoption, was already five-and-twenty, had the better pretension, and was supported by the favor of the Roman People.

In these circumstances the dying Emperor thought it dangerous to declare for his grandson; but secretly drew up a will in his favor, of which he carefully lodged many copies, while he made the world believe, that he intended the succession for Caius. In this act of duplicity he had concealed his real intentions, even from Macro, the commander of the Prætorian bands, on whom the execution of his purpose chiefly depended; and by these means rendered it entirely abortive.

Macro, having been for some time past in actual concert with Caius on the measures that were necessary to secure the succession; and both being equally surprised to find, at the demise of Tiberius, a formal conveyance of the sovereignty in a different channel, their first intention was to cancel this deed; but they soon found, that the testator had made so many copies of his will, and lodged them so securely, as to render their design impracticable. It was determined, therefore, as more adviseable, to refer the matter to the Senate, and to obtain an act, founded on a supposed right of seniority, preferring Caius to the throne of Cæsar.

By such an acknowledgment of right, the monarchy gained a new advantage, and perhaps one of the greatest of which it was then susceptible, that some rule of inheritance should be followed to prevent the ruinous contests which arise from an

elective or disputed succession, and to give, if possible, together with a permanent right of the sovereign to his high estate, a corresponding right of every citizen to his rank, to his privilege, and to his property.

By this declaration in favor of Caius, it seemed to be admitted, that men were to look for a successor to the empire in the person who stood foremost, by birth or adoption, in the family of Cæsar; and the establishment of the monarchy appeared to be complete. The titles of Emperor and Prince¹, or head of the army and of the Senate, under which Augustus endeavoured to conceal the extent of his usurpation, came in the course of his own and the succeeding reign, to signify what, among the designations of sovereignty and imperial power, they now actually import, and what, through a race of men, blessed with virtuous or moderate dispositions, might, as in other instances, have passed by hereditary succession to a very distant posterity; but in the persons who immediately succeeded to the government, the transmission of this inheritance was accompanied with much violence and frequent interruption.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgment now made in favor of hereditary right, the example of a formal resignation and resumption of the sovereignty, set by Augustus, and repeated by Tiberius, had entailed a kind of farce on the empire, to be acted, not only at the accession of successive masters,

¹ Imperator & Princeps.

B O O K but in the same reign, at every period of ten years.

VI. At every such period the appointment of an Emperor was supposed to be renewed: the occasion was attended with much solemnity, and the celebration of a great festival² for the entertainment of the People.

Caius, therefore, while he was far from admitting any doubt of his right to the sovereignty, nevertheless, mimicked the caution or artifice with which Augustus and Tiberius proceeded to assume the reins of government. He repeated the same professions of respect and of zeal for the commonwealth, the same expressions of personal modesty, the same unwillingness to undertake the government, the same reluctant compliance with the pressing requests of the Senate and People, the same affectation of filial piety to his predecessor, and of indulgence or candor to those who had, in any way, obstructed his own advancement. It was become the fashion to affect destroying all papers and records, from which any one could fear to have matter of accusation brought against him; but it was become the practice to preserve them with great care.

While the new Emperor passed from Misenum to Rome, he was attended on the highways by incredible numbers of people, who, animated by the affection which they bore to his father Germanicus, and by the hopes of exchanging a cruel and jealous tyrant for a youth of a noble and virtuous

² The Decennalia.

extraction, received him with acclamations of joy, calling him their propitious star, the child and the nursling of the Roman People, and bestowing upon him every other appellation of fondness and respect. It is scarcely to be doubted, as his mind was then elated with joy, for his deliverance from the insidious and cruel jealousy of his predecessor, and moved by the affection and cordiality with which his succession was acknowledged by all orders of men, that he must have felt a real, however temporary, gleam of good will and affection to all mankind. When officiously told of some offences which had been committed against his person or his pretensions, he said, "That he had done nothing to merit the hatred of any one, and should be deaf to the whispers of informers or spies." Affecting to follow the impulse of his own filial piety, and to be moved by the affectionate sympathy of the Roman People, he hastened to the island of Pandateria, where his mother Agrippina had suffered so long a confinement under the tyranny of Tiberius, raked up the ashes of her funeral pile, embraced her remains, and ordered them to be carried with great ostentation to Rome. Although decency required him to observe the forms, and to carry the aspect of mourning for his late adoptive father and predecessor, he complied with what he knew to be the wishes of the Roman People, affecting to reverse many orders that were established in the administration and policy of the preceding reign.

Here then, if not before, we may date the final and irretrievable extinction of the Roman republic,

BOOK
VI.

not only in the subversion of its own institutions, and in the actual substitution of different forms, but in the acknowledgment of a right which made the succession to imperial power hereditary, as well as the extent of it far beyond what was consistent with the prerogatives formerly enjoyed by the Senate and People of Rome. At this termination, therefore, of the Roman republic, agreeably to the design of this history, the narration must cease or conclude, with a very general view of what befel the empire in the succession of masters, and in the result of its own greatness.

Notwithstanding the favorable appearances which presented themselves at the accession of Caius, he not having, either in his understanding or dispositions, the permanent foundation of any good character, his personal vices soon broke out in one of the most brutal and sanguinary tyrannies of which there is any example in the history of mankind. Having no choice of amusement above that of the lowest people, he soon plunged, together with them, into every species of dissipation and debauchery; remained whole days and nights in the theatres and in the circus, entertained with the fights of gladiators, the baiting of wild beasts, and all the other species of shows, of which the Romans, once a warlike people, now a corrupted populace, were so immoderately fond.

Ambitious citizens under the republic, and even the late Emperors, with their court, had occasionally given their attendance at such entertainments, more to please the humor of the populace than to

gratify their own: but this Emperor himself, in respect to the qualities of his mind, was to be ranked with the lowest of the vulgar. He considered the circus as the principal scene of his glory, and the number of shows he could procure as the measure of his greatness. That the scenes might not be interrupted, or the spectators be obliged to retire to their meals, he fed them in the theatre. He promoted persons to offices of State, or marked them out for disgrace or ruin, according to the ardor or indifference which they seemed to have for these entertainments. In the degree of extravagance to which he carried this matter, he incurred an immoderate expense; and, besides applying to this purpose the ordinary revenue of the empire, squandered, within the year, a saving of about two-and-twenty millions sterling, left in the treasury by his predecessor.

In the sequel of these vile misapplications of time, the satiety he experienced led him to indulge himself in the most scandalous and offensive debauch. A sense of the public hatred or contempt which he incurred, galled him with jealousy and distrust; and these passions soon ripened into a general enmity to mankind. Every species of brutal indulgence, qualified with the name of pleasure; deliberate murders, under the pretence of the execution of justice, ordered without any formalities of trial, perpetrated in his own presence, and attended with expressions of insult and scorn from himself, make up the sequel of a reign which began with some professions and propitious appearances of moderation and regard

BOOK VI. to the opinion of the world. But the degree to which human nature itself was disgraced and insulted, in these detestable abuses of power, hastened an attempt to relieve the empire from the dominion of this monster. He fell in about three years after he began to reign, in one of the passages of his own palace, by the hands of Chærea, an officer of his guard, who without any intention to supplant or to succeed him in the empire, formed a conspiracy against his life.

The Senate for a few hours after this event, flattered themselves in the belief that the government had devolved on themselves; and Chærea, by whose hands the tyrant had fallen, fondly wished for the restoration of the republic; but the Prætorian bands thought themselves entitled to dispose of the empire. Before their officers had taken any measures for this purpose, a few straggling soldiers pervading the courts and recesses of the palace, seized upon Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and uncle of Caligula, who, as a changeling devoid of ordinary understanding, had been long neglected or overlooked in the palace. This being the person who seemed, by his relation to the late Emperors, to have the best claim to the name and succession of the Cæsarian or Claudian families, they raised him on their shoulders, yet trembling with fear, lest he should be involved in the fate of his kinsman Caligula, and hastening with their burden to the fortress or barrack, were received by their companions with shouts and acclamations, which announced to the Senate and the People that a successor was given to the throne of Cæsar.

The inactivity of this new sovereign might have furnished the world with at least an innocent master, if his want of rapacity could have been supplied without committing his power into hands equally disposed to abuse it with the worst of his predecessors. Fit only to be a pageant in the ceremonies of a court, or a tool to be employed by those who got possession of him, he came at last into the hands of the second Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and sister of Caligula, who, though his niece, became his wife, and prevailed upon him to adopt the young Domitius Ahenobarbus, her son by a former husband; and by these means made way for his succession to the empire under the appellation of Nero.

This impetuous, severe, and profligate woman, equally ardent in the acquisition as in the abuse of power, mistook, for parental affection, the earnest passion with which she wished to govern in the name of her son. Having ability enough, however, where she was not misled by her passions, to distinguish the proper instruments of government, she endeavoured to procure for him, in the tutory of Burhus, who was placed by her means at the head of the Prætorian bands, and of Seneca, who was by her means likewise recalled from banishment to his place in the Senate, the most able or specious direction which the times could afford.

Nero acting for some time what Burhus suggested, and speaking what Seneca dictated, appeared to be a prodigy of wisdom and ingenuity. But his own personal disposition, making its way in a little time

BOOK VI. through the mask of sayings and of actions which were not his own, gave sufficient evidence, that the circumstance of having been the mere puppet, though actuated by the most able and ingenious hands, does not bestow ingenuity or ability, and that a direction, however wise, received from others without discernment or knowledge of its value, cannot carry to the mind of those who submit to it the character of wisdom.

The name of Nero, after the person who bore it had, during a few years in the beginning of his reign, been supposed the model of royal and philosophic virtue³, has become proverbial for caprice, folly, brutality, insolence, and cruelty. To the contempt of his subjects he at last joined a contempt of that very dignity to which he himself was raised as sovereign of so great an empire. Having a talent for music, he became, or believed himself to be, a distinguished performer, exhibited his skill on the public theatres, and travelled through Greece in the character of an artist, to receive the applauses of a people supposed to excel in discernment and taste.

The contempt which Nero incurred in quitting the character of Sovereign for that of Musician, became more fatal to him than the general detestation which he had formerly excited. A revolt which took place at first in Gaul, was followed by a defection of all the armies of the empire, and reduced

³ The quinquennium Neronis, was a proverbial expression for what promised well, but turned out otherwise.

him to the necessity of quitting, together with his life, a situation of which he proved so unworthy. Next to the fears which assailed him on the prospect of death, he was most affected, it is said, with surprise, that the world could submit to lose the hand of so great a performer.

Such then, in the first period of this monarchy, was the progress of a sovereignty erected by the Cæsars with so much violence, bloodshed, and criminal address. According to our ideas of inheritance, the succession did not once take place in the family of the first founder, but was pieced out by continual adoptions from the Octavian, the Claudian, and, last of all, from the Domitian family.

The reign of Augustus has been generally applauded, and may be considered as a model for those, who wish to govern with the least possible opposition or obstruction to their power. It may serve likewise as a caution to those, who need to be told under what disguise the most detestable tyranny will sometimes approach mankind. The wary design which marked the character of Augustus, was followed by worse principles in the breasts of those who succeeded him; and the dominion he established, merely to subject the empire to his own power, without any disposition to abuse it, became, in the sequel, an instrument of the vilest tyranny, and brought upon the public stage of the world actors, whom their dispositions and characters must otherwise have condemned to obscurity, or exposed as a disgrace and a blemish to human nature.

The manners of the Imperial court, and the

B O O K
VI.

conduct of succeeding Emperors, will scarcely gain credit with those who estimate probabilities from the standard of modern times. But the Romans were capable of much greater extremes than we are acquainted with. They retained, through all the steps of the revolution which they had undergone, their ferocity entire, without possessing, along with it, any of those better qualities, which, under the republic, had directed their courage to noble, at least to great and national, purposes.

Augustus had established the military government with great caution, and even affected the appearances of a citizen, while he secured all the powers of a master. His successors retained in public the same familiarity of manners, without the same guard against its abuses, and affected to be popular in the city and in the camp, without the circumspection which preserved the first Emperor from the contagion of mean and degrading examples. The State itself was just emerged from democracy, in which the pretensions to equality checked the ordinary uses which, under monarchies, are made of fortune and superior condition. The distinctions of royalty, and with these the proprieties of behaviour, in high rank, were unknown. An attempt at elegant magnificence and courtly reserve, which, in established monarchies, makes a part of the royal state, and a considerable support of its dignity, were avoided in this fallen republic, as more likely to excite envy and hatred, than deference or respect.

The Roman Emperors, perhaps, in point of expense, both public and private, exceeded every other

sovereign of the world ; but their public expenses consisted in the exhibition of shows and entertainments, in which they admitted the meanest of the people to partake with themselves. Their personal expenses consisted not so much in the ostentation of elegance or refined pleasure, as in a serious attempt to improve sensuality into a continual source of enjoyment; and their pleasures consisted, of consequence, in the excesses of a brutal and retired debauch. This debauch was supported by continual endeavours to excite satiated appetite, to prolong its gratifications, and to supply the defects of mere animal pleasure, with conceits of fancy and efforts of buffoonery or low humor.

The manners of imperial Rome are thus described in the remains of a satire*, as elegant in the style, as it is gross and disgusting in the matter, and which we may suppose to be just in the general representation, whatever we may think of its application to any of the princes whose names and succession have been mentioned†.

Although it would be absurd to imagine such a satire levelled at the corruptions of a modern court, whose principal weakness is vanity, and whose luxury consists in ostentation; we must not therefore reject every supposed application of it to the pollutions of a Roman barrack, or, what nearly resembled a barrack, the recesses of a Roman palace,

* That of Petronius.

† Mr. Voltaire has with contempt rejected its supposed application to the manners of a court.

BOOK
VI.

where the human blood that was shed in sport, was sometimes mixed with the wine that was spilt in debauch⁶. The representations of Petronius may be applied, in some parts, to the court of Tiberius and Claudius, more properly than to that of Caligula or Nero, or may have been a general satire levelled at the corruptions of the times, without any such application. But with respect to one or other of those Emperors, every part in the feast of Tremalchio may have been a genuine, though disguised picture.

Even in the court of the sober Augustus, pleasure was but another name for debauch. Love was no more than the ebullition of temperament, without the allurements of elegance, or the seduction of affection or passion. In the licence of the sexes, both of them alike resorted to the places of public debauch. Women of the highest rank affected the manners of prostitutes, and, to realize the evidence of their victories, collected the ordinary rewards of prostitution. Such was the debauch for which Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was infamous, and in which she exhibited, as has been observed, not the weakness of a mind misled by passion, or seduced by some partial affection, but the gross excess of an appetite unacquainted with decency and above restraint.

In this state of manners the first successors of Cæsar, not having the habits of a courtly decorum to

⁶ The Romans had combats of gladiators exhibited while they were at table.

preserve them from the contagion of mean and degrading vices, and not considering their own elevation as any other than a mere post of advantage, from which they could indulge every caprice with impunity, after a few attempts in the beginning of a reign to prejudice the world in their favor, plunged into every species of excess, that a vile disposition, set free from restraint, and exasperated by the sense of general aversion, could incur. Persons inclined to this course generally proceed in their vices, until they meet with some obstacle which necessity or fear presents to them, and where they meet with no such obstacle, they preserve no bounds.

A perfect freedom from all external restraint would be sufficiently dangerous for persons of the best dispositions; but to those who are curst with the worst, such a freedom from restraint would be accompanied with certain ruin. It is indeed nowhere to be found; but the first successors of Cæsar flattered themselves that they had found it; and as they supported the first offences which they committed against the rules of propriety, by setting reason itself and the sense of mankind at defiance, they came to apprehend a species of pleasure in braving the detestation which they incurred by their infamies⁷. They pursued the first strokes of injustice and malice by a continual warfare of distrust, prevention, and revenge against those to whom they supposed that their persons or government were

⁷ Magnitudo infamiae cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas.

BOOK VI. odious; and they persisted in this course until the extreme itself, being what nothing less than the possession of sovereign power could support, appeared characteristic of empire, and worthy of the descendants of Cæsar.

During this unhappy succession of Cæsars, the supreme power had been, for the most part, held or disposed of by the Prætorian bands. These troops being posted in the capital, overawed the Senate and People, and, though not fit to contend with the legions who were still employed in actual service, they gave possession of the empire, at every vacancy, before the armies of the frontier had time to deliberate or to take part in the choice.

This pre-eminence, however, of the Prætorian bands had been impatiently suffered by the legions of the Rhine and the Danube. They wished, at the death of Augustus, to have given a specimen of their consequence in naming a successor to the empire; but being then over-ruled by the dutiful spirit or moderation of Germanicus, they acquiesced in the government of Tiberius, and remained in quiet under all the successions which followed; until, being excited by the defection of Gaul, which happened under Nero, and impatient of the mockery of sovereignty exhibited in the infamies of that unhappy person, they entertained, almost in every quarter of the empire at once, the project of giving a better and more respectable sovereign to the world.

Within the compass of one year and a few months, after it was known that the province of Gaul had revolted from Nero, all the armies from

the Rhine and the Danube, from Gaul, Syria, Spain, and Britain, were on their march towards Italy, for the important purpose of giving a sovereign to the empire. And it is remarkable, that this project did not originate with the leaders, or appear to be suggested by the ambition of generals, but arose from a spirit of commotion which pervaded the troops.

Every legionary soldier, excited by the desire of rapine, by the prospect of possessing the capital, and of rioting in the riches and pleasures of Italy, conceived the design of pushing forward his general to the head of the empire. They burst at once from their quarters, and considering themselves as set free from every species of government, whether civil or military, set no bounds to their violence. Augmenting their fury by the consideration of the punishments they incurred, in case they should fail in their attempt, they passed through every city and province in their way, like a storm that wastes and destroys whatever is opposed to its course. Within the short period we have mentioned, a motley assemblage of provincial troops, dressed in the garb of their different countries, with different arms and different languages, mixed with the Roman legions, who, now for many years strangers to each other, met on the Po and the Tiber to dispose of the empire. And, in the sequel of their contest, whether as victors or vanquished, whether moved by insolence or despair, did equal execution on the pacific inhabitants.

These troubles, however, ended in the elevation of

BOOK
VI.

a great and respectable officer⁸ to the throne of Cæsar, and in the substitution of the Flavian family to that of Claudius and of Julius. At the accession of Vespasian every army had tried its strength, and competitors from the Court, the Senate, and the Camp had made trial of their fortune. The victors in this contest received a willing submission from the pacific inhabitants of the provinces, who were ready to congratulate themselves on the return of public tranquillity.

Fortunately the first Emperors of the new family, Vespasian himself, and the eldest of his two sons⁹, came from the school of experience, had learned the value of reason, humanity, and justice in the government of mankind; and they accordingly exhibited a character which, in some of its parts, was still new on the throne of Cæsar; the character of wisdom, propriety, and humanity assumed, for its own sake, and without any intention to circumvent the People, or to impose upon the world. But the fortunes of this second imperial family, like those of the first, soon devolved on a person¹⁰ equally unfit to sustain them, and equally unfit to be suffered by the patience of an abject court or a submissive world.

As mankind are known to run, occasionally, from one extreme to another, the evils which had been experienced in the characters of some of the preceding

⁸ Vespasian.

⁹ Titus.

¹⁰ Domitian.

Emperors, perhaps helped to direct the armies of the empire, at times, to think of the opposite extreme; and they made a compensation, in some of their elections, for the mischiefs which they had brought upon the world in others.

Amidst the variety of examples that were set on the imperial throne, different Emperors paid unequal degrees of respect to the civil forms which were handed down to them from the republic, and which were still retained at least in name. But the characters of sovereign in the empire, and head of the army, were necessarily united in the same person; and, in proportion as the army itself came to be corrupted, the imperial establishment suffered, not an occasional and temporary abuse, but a radical and irrecoverable decline of its character and force.

The Prætorian bands were early debauched by their residence in the capital, the principal seat of licentiousness; they were inspired with presumption from the access which they had to practise on the vices of their sovereign, and they outran all the armies of the empire in profligacy, insolence, and venality. They were, upon this account, broke or disbanded with indignation by Galba, the first provincial officer who was advanced to the purple; but this reformation only made way for others, who, being placed in the same school of disorder and vice, soon equalled their predecessors in all the evils which they had brought on the capital, and on the empire.

The contagion of military arrogance gradually spread from the barrack or camp of the Prætorian bands, to the legions of the frontier, and, together

B O O K
VI.

with the hopes of raising a favorite leader to the head of the empire, promised indulgence of crimes and exemption from every painful restraint. The practice of disposing of the empire was followed by that of selling it for pecuniary bounties, and formally capitulating with every new master for a relaxation of discipline and the impunity of crimes.

In proportion as the character of Roman citizen lost its consideration and its consequence, the name was easily communicated to all the subjects or natives of any province. But this promiscuous admission of every subject, under the same predicament of a Roman citizen, instead of raising the provincials to the dignity of Romans, sunk the latter to the level of provincial subjects; extinguished all the sentiments on which the legions of old were wont to value themselves, and, with their loss of self-estimation as Romans, probably diminished the interest they had in the preservation of the Roman name. They became by degrees, and at every succession, more mercenary and venal in the choice of their masters, more brutal in the exercise of their force against their fellow-subjects; and, with a continual degradation from bad to worse, substituted for the order, courage, and discipline of Roman legions, mere ferocity, and a disposition to rapine and mutiny.

In composing such armies, the natives of the more rude and uncultivated provinces took the ascendant over those of the more civilized and pacific; and the empire itself sometimes received its master from its most barbarous extremities, and from the nurseries of brutality, ignorance, and violence.

From such a general tendency to corruption, it is not surprising that an empire, though once of such mighty power, should, in process of time, verge to its ruin; it is rather surprising, that a fabric, mouldering so fast within, should have so long withstood the storm with which it was naturally assailed from abroad. From the accession of Caligula to the admission of Alaric into Rome, was a period of no more than about four hundred years; but from the same Epoch to the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, was a period of one thousand four hundred and sixteen years. So long was it before the lights of civil, political, and military wisdom, erected by the Roman commonwealth, though struck out by the Goths and Vandals in the West, and continually sinking in the East, were entirely extinguished.

The fabric of the empire had many advantages to account for so long a duration, both in the nature of its materials and in the disposition of its parts. The provinces were conveniently situated for mutual intercourse and for mutual support; and there was an easy access from the seat of dominion, to the farthest bounds of the empire. The order established by Augustus, and confirmed by Tiberius, remained unaltered, even by many of their successors. The worst of the Cæsars suffered that order to subsist in the provinces, and never looked beyond the court and capital for the objects of their jealousy, and fit subjects of tyranny. Even in such hands the engine of empire continued to work, because the master neither pretended to

B O O K VI. understand, nor attempted to interpose in the operation of its distant parts. And the authority of government continued high in the extremities of this vast dominion, while it sunk or was abused in the centre.

Valor and discipline, the best preservatives of many other valuable qualities, being long in request, though sometimes impaired in the Roman legions, still formed examples of a noble and heroic virtue, which qualified some of those, who attained to the more high and respectable stations in the military profession, to fill with advantage the imperial throne.

The inhabitants of the empire in general were corrected of that ferocity, or reduced from that national spirit which renders subjects refractory. They were addicted to pacific arts, tractable, and easily retained within the bounds of their duty; and they acquiesced in any government, however negligent or incapable, some of the Emperors promoted this orderly and pacific disposition, by the confidence which they taught the subject to have in the security of his person and of his property, and by the encouragement which they gave to pursuits and applications which inspire the love of peace and tranquillity¹¹.

It may appear strange, but it is true, that even

¹¹ Vespasian gave salaries of about 800 l. a-year to masters of rhetoric at Rome. Marcus Aurelius gave salaries to many teachers of philosophy at Athens. Hadrian established the School of liberal arts, called the Athæneum. Dio Cass. lib. lxxi. c. 37. Sextus Aurelius Victor de Cæsaribus.

under the government of mere soldiers of fortune, the principles of law, founded in the maxims of the republic, though in some things perverted to the purposes of despotic power, was made the object of a select profession, and was studied as a rule of peace and of property. The civil law was thus not only suffered to remain in force, but received, from the pleadings of advocates, the decisions of judges, and the edicts of princes, continual accessions of light and authority, which has rendered it the great basis of justice to all the modern nations of Europe.

Philosophy continued in repute from the times of the republic far down in the empire, and the doctrines of Epicurus, which had prevailed in the later times of the commonwealth, now gave way to those of Zeno and the Stoics. While men had rights to preserve, and hazardous duties to perform on the public scene, they had affected to believe, with Epicurus, that pleasure was the standard of good and of evil. But now, when the public occupations of state were withheld from them, and when personal safety was the highest object in their view, they returned to the idea, which seemed to have inspired the virtue of ancient times, that men were made happy by what they themselves were and performed, not by what they possessed. Under the discouragements of many a cruel and oppressive reign, men of education and of high descent accordingly had recourse to the philosophy of Zeno, as to a consolation and support; and although they were deprived of the opportunity to act upon their own ideas in any distinguished situation, they gave

B O O K
VI.

sufficient evidence of their sincerity, in the manly indifference with which they sometimes incurred the consequences of their independence and freedom of mind.

From these materials, the law was sometimes furnished with practitioners, the Senate with its members, the army with commanders, and the empire itself with its head; and the throne of Cæsar, in the vicissitudes to which it was exposed, presented examples as honorable to human nature in some instances, as they were degrading and shameful in others. In these varieties, however, it is no disparagement to the good, to suppose that they were not able to compensate the bad, or to produce effects, to which the greatest abilities in a few individuals cannot extend.

The wisdom of Nerva gave rise to a succession which, in the persons of Trajan and the Antonines, formed a counterpart to the race of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; and it must be admitted that if a people could be happy by any other virtue than their own, there was a period in the history of this empire, during which the happiness of mankind may have been supposed complete. This however is but a fond and mistaken apprehension. A People may receive protection from the justice and humanity of single men; but can receive independence, vigor, and peace of mind only from their own. Even the virtues of this happy succession could do no more than discontinue, for a while, the former abuses of power, administer justice, restrain the guilty, and protect the innocent. Many

of the evils under which human nature was laboring, still remained without a cure; and the empire, after having in the highest degree experienced the effects of wisdom and goodness, was assailed anew with all the abuses of the opposite extreme ¹².

For many ages, nevertheless, the frontier continued to be defended and the internal peace of the empire to be tolerably secure. Commerce flourished, and the land was cultivated; but these were but poor compensations for the want of that vigor, elevation, and freedom, which perished with the Roman republic itself, or with the political character

¹² These extremes scarcely gain credit with the modern reader, as they are so much beyond what his own experience or observation can parallel. Nero seems to have been a Demon, and Aurelius a Divinity; and these prodigies, whether in the extreme of good or of evil, exhibited, amidst the ruins of the Roman republic, are no longer to be found. Individuals were then formed on their specific dispositions to wisdom or folly. In later times, they are more cast in a general mould, which gives a certain form independent of the materials. Religion, fashion, and manners prescribe more of the actions of men, or mark a deeper tract in which men are constrained to move.

The maxims of a Christian and a Gentleman, the remains of what men were taught by those maxims in the days of chivalry, pervade every rank, have some effect in places of the least restraint; and if they do not inspire decency of character, at least awe the profligate with the fear of contempt, from which even the most powerful are not secure. Inasmuch, that if human nature wants the force to produce an Aurelius or a Trajan, it is not so much exposed to the infamies of a Domitian or a Nero.

BOOK VI. of the other nations which had been absorbed in this ruinous abyss.

The military and political virtues, which had been exerted in forming this empire, having finished their course, a general relaxation ensued, under which, the very forms that were necessary for its preservation were in process of time neglected. As the spirit which gave rise to those forms was gradually spent, human nature fell into a retrograde motion, which the virtues of individuals could not suspend; and men in the application of their faculties even to the most ordinary purposes of life, suffered a slow and insensible, but almost continual decline.

In this great empire, the fortunes of nations over the more cultivated parts of the earth, being embarked on a single bottom, were exposed to one common and general wreck. Human nature languished for some time under a suspension of national exertions, and the monuments of former times were, at last, overwhelmed by one general irruption of barbarism, superstition, and ignorance. The effects of this irruption constitute a mighty chasm in the transition from ancient to modern history, and make it difficult to state the transactions and manners of the one, in a way to be read and understood by those whose habits and ideas are taken entirely from the other.

THE END.



Ferguson, Adam,

The history of the progress and termination of the Roman republic

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Basil (1791)

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